

JPRS-UIA-87-025

26 MAY 1987

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 1, JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1987

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USSR REPORT  
INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS  
THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

No 1, Jan-Feb 1987

Except where indicated otherwise in the table of contents the following is a complete translation of the Russian-language journal RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR, published six times a year in Moscow by the Institute of the International Workers' Movement, USSR Academy of Sciences.

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PUBLICATION DATA

English title : THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY WORLD

Russian title : RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR

Author (s) :

Editor : I.K. Pantin

Publishing House : Izdatelstvo "Progress"

Place of publication : Moscow

Signed to press : 6 January 1987

Copies : 10,000

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CSO: 1807/246

1986 WORLD TU CONGRESS ON ISSUES OF PEACE, SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 3-13

[Article by AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev: "Pivotal Stage"]

[Text] The international trade union movement has entered a pivotal stage of its development. It is characterized on the one hand by increased pressure in the capitalist countries on the positions of the working class on the part of the big monopolies and rightwing-conservative circles expressing their interests; on the other, by the turnaround which has been discerned on the part of the working masses toward more assertive actions and an expansion of the social front of the protest movement. Under current conditions recognition of the objective community of the fundamental interests of different strata of the working class is growing, which is affording unprecedented opportunities for constructive cooperation between various detachments of the international workers movement, primarily on problems of preserving peace.

The results of the Soviet-American top-level meeting in Reykjavik have shown convincingly that the key to mankind's survival in the nuclear-space age is new thinking, the need for which must be obvious both for politicians and public figures and for broad strata of the population and working people of all countries. "The protracted feverish condition of international relations contains the threat of a sudden and disastrous crisis," M.S. Gorbachev has observed. "Practical steps away from the nuclear abyss are required. Joint Soviet-American efforts and the efforts of the whole community are needed for a radical improvement in international relations" (1).

An understanding of this simple and obvious truth is broadening with every passing day in the ranks of the working class and its mass organizations, including those which even recently were remaining aloof from the antiwar struggle. As the European Confederation of Trade Unions observed, "the United States and the USSR were very close to achieving an accord on appreciable reductions in intermediate-range and strategic nuclear missiles. This is a very positive fact, and the negotiations should subsequently be based on this foundation.... Space must be used solely for peaceful purposes, and all European government should put pressure on the United States for it to abandon its 'star wars' program and thereby contribute to the achievement of mutual accords." The conference of the Congress of Industrial Organizations section

of the American AFL-CIO union association held at the end of October 1986 adopted a resolution which calls this program the "main barrier" in the way of the achievement of nuclear disarmament. The resolution also calls on the U.S. Administration to comply with the terms of the SALT and ABM treaties, ban chemical and ASAT weapons and suspend all nuclear weapons testing.

The 11th World Trade Unions Congress was held 16-22 September 1986 in the GDR capital of Berlin.

It was the most representative workers' forum in the history of the international worker and trade union movement, a truly world trade union forum. Emissaries of labor unions of states belonging to different socioeconomic systems took part. Some 1,014 delegates and observers from all continents represented 432 national, sectoral and regional union organizations numbering in their ranks 296 million working people and also 67 international organizations, including the United Nations, the ILO and UNESCO.

It is highly significant that more than half the participants were delegated by unions which are not members of the WFTU, at whose initiative the congress was held. It may be said without any exaggeration that the delegates to and guests of the congress expressed the will of the majority of the world's working people organized in labor unions. It was no accident that, describing the representation, journalists with good reason compared the 11th World Trade Unions Congress with the UN General Assembly.

I would like to make particular mention of the open nature of the congress. Despite the attempts of the leadership of the ICFTU and its prompters from the American AFL-CIO to boycott the congress, the representatives of many unions of the West, from the United States included, took part in it. They participated as equals in the work of the congress and its commissions and editorial groups and took part in concerned and constructive fashion in the debates, which testifies to the changes which have come about in the alignment of forces in the present-day international trade union movement and the failure of the attempts of the opponents of worker unity to disrupt the ties which have taken shape between different detachments of the unions.

The work of the congress showed that, in spite of the policy of exclusiveness and self-isolation of the unions of the West from contacts with unions of the socialist countries pursued by the reformists and anticommunists, a trend toward the development of inter-union cooperation is strengthening. Life itself is debunking the views according to which there can be no common ground for joint action for unions operating under different social conditions. This was wrong in the past and is doubly wrong now, when the course of world development has led to the emergence of global problems affecting the working people of all countries, primarily the problems of preserving life on earth.

The essence of practically all the speeches at the congress amounted to just one thing--the need for the unification of efforts of the working people and their professional organizations and the entire international trade union movement in the struggle for the accomplishment of the urgent tasks of the present day. In their speeches (and 350 speakers altogether spoke from the congress' platform) the delegates observed that the world is experiencing an

extremely dangerous, pivotal moment in its history. The peoples, the working people and the unions are profoundly concerned at the intensification of the arms race. It was a question of the working people being unable in this situation to reconcile themselves to a lack of unity in their ranks and of their unions having to rise above existing ideological disagreements and unite as quickly as possible their efforts in the struggle against the common danger, against the threat of thermonuclear catastrophe.

It may be stated with satisfaction that this truth, albeit with difficulty, is blazing a trail for itself toward people's minds and hearts, in whatever country they live and whatever views they hold. The working people's thirst for peace is overcoming the impediments of lying propaganda and disinformation. They understand increasingly distinctly who the true culprit of international tension is and who is for peace.

Wars are organically alien to working people. The giant expenditure on the arms race, which is fraught with fatal consequences for mankind, is with every passing day having an increasingly disastrous impact on the position of the working people. Over \$800 billion were spent on military needs in the world in 1985. According to the most guarded estimates, given the present growth rate of world military spending, considerably more will be spent on military needs in the next two decades than in the 40 postwar years (2).

Representing the greatest danger here is the so-called strategic defense initiative (SDI), whose realization, American experts themselves estimate, will in the first 10 years alone require almost \$800 billion. The disastrous socioeconomic consequences of another twist to the arms race spiral, extremely dangerous for the cause of peace, are obvious. A growth of unemployment and inflation, an increased tax burden, loss of most important social gains--such is the price which the working people of capitalist countries will have to pay for a new round of militarist preparations. It is this cheerless prospect which imperialism offers the peoples. As the American General Rogers, commander in chief of NATO, candidly declared, "the growth of military budgets must be secured, however burdensome the socioeconomic problems...."

The working people cannot and are unwilling to be reconciled to such a fate. This was shown by the speeches at the plenary sessions of the 11th World Trade Unions Congress and, particularly, the debate of the "Peace and Disarmament" Commission which operated within the congress' framework and whose sessions were chaired by Campbell Christie, general secretary of the Scottish Trade Unions Congress and president of the International Trade Union Committee for Peace and Disarmament (Dublin). The current situation, the participants in the commission emphasized, dictates the need for special study of the socioeconomic consequences of the militarization of space, an intensification of the struggle against those who are spurring the arms race and an improvement in the knowledgeability of various detachments of the peace movement. Such questions should be a subject of the special attention of trade union organizations.

The participants in the discussion evaluated highly the study on socioeconomic aspects of the arms race, which had been submitted at the June 1986 session of the ILO General Conference as the trade union response to the resolution of

the General Conference 67th Session (1981) "Economic and Social Consequences of Disarmament" and which had been published by the Dublin Committee. The commission adopted the document "Trade Union Action for Peace and Disarmament". It draws the clear conclusion that today the struggle against militarism and the arms race is not only a struggle for the survival of mankind. It is also a struggle in defense of the social, political and economic rights of the working people. A stimulation of the unions of West and East in the struggle for peace means the emergence of a new phenomenon--the unions' peace movement.

A significant place at the congress was occupied by discussion of specific initiatives aimed at curbing the arms race and preventing the militarization of outer space. It was observed at the Berlin forum that the Soviet peace initiatives, primarily the moratorium on nuclear explosions, are creating fundamentally new, favorable conditions for the joint antiwar protests of various detachments of the international union movement. It was emphasized that it is essential that the unions and all peace-loving forces step up pressure on the U.S. Administration--the main culprit of the arms race--and force it to reconsider its positions and give a constructive reply to the peace-loving proposals of the USSR.

It is the United States, Marcelino Camacho, general secretary of Spain's Workers' Commissions, declared, that is chiefly responsible for the arms race. Promoting realization of Soviet foreign policy initiatives means expressing the deep-lying interests and cherished aspirations of working people, who are tired of military preparations. The Soviet moratorium on nuclear explosions showed the USSR's sincere aspiration to a curbing of the arms race, M.G. Mendis, general secretary of the Ceylon Federation of Trade Unions, emphasized. The Soviet peace proposals enjoy the growing support of the working people of the developing countries.

Emissaries from the socialist countries and from Britain, France, Spain, Cyprus, Greece, Canada, Congo, Ethiopia, Syria, Peru and dozens of other states called on the union organizations to actively contribute to realization of the Soviet foreign policy initiatives. Emissaries of the unions of Australia, New Zealand and New Caledonia spoke of the need for an intensification of the struggle to make the Pacific a nuclear-free zone in accordance with the proposals expressed by M.S. Gorbachev in Vladivostok. Many speakers called attention in this connection to the colossal benefits which would accrue to the working people from realization of the Soviet peace proposals. Merely a simple freezing of military spending, which the Soviet Union has proposed repeatedly, would make it possible to accelerate the annual growth rate in the world by at least 2 percent.

Significant in this respect was the fact that the congress' first official document was the unanimously approved message to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, U.S. President R. Reagan and UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar, which emphasizes the USSR's constructive steps in the struggle against nuclear catastrophe and contains an appeal to the United States and the Soviet Union and all members of the United Nations for the "immediate adoption of measures for the conclusion of international agreements on a halt to the arms race and all nuclear tests, the elimination

of nuclear and other types of weapon of mass destruction and a redistribution of the resources released as a result of disarmament measures for the acceleration of socioeconomic development. Measures should be adopted in all countries to switch military enterprises to the manufacture of peaceful products. The congress states its belief once again that a strategy of peace and disarmament is now a decisive component of the strategy of international development to secure a better life for all mankind" (3).

The strikingly expressed antiwar focus and support for peace initiatives and the idea of the creation of an all-embracing system of international security determined the political content of practically the entire work of the congress. This imparts to it special significance in the subsequent development of the international worker and trade union movement along the path of unification of the efforts of the working people of all countries in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

It is significant that the participants in the congress viewed the struggle for peace and against the arms race as a most important prerequisite of the solution of their urgent problems: unemployment and the consequences of economic crisis in West Europe and North America; starvation, backwardness and foreign debt in Africa, Asia and Latin America; and the offensive of the transnational corporations and big capital against the rights and gains of the working people in all regions of the nonsocialist world. It was observed, for example, that the arms race is a principal factor of potential losses in the sphere of employment inasmuch as military production is concentrated in the relatively capital-intensive sectors. For the industrially developed countries on average over the past 20 years the number of jobs "created" per \$1 billion spent on militarist purposes has declined by a factor of 2-2.5. Approximately 10 million persons in these countries fail to find work annually owing to the militarization of production.

The arms race is also impeding the normal development of trade-economic relations, primarily East-West relations, which, as representatives of the unions of the FRG, France and Great Britain observed at the congress, are also an important source of employment. Thus total employment created by these relations is the equivalent of roughly 5 million persons. According to some estimates, Soviet orders alone guarantee work in West European countries for more than 1 million persons.

The arms race is also fraught with irreplaceable losses for the working people of the developing countries, who currently account for three-fourths of world weapons imports. They are spending on military needs approximately 6 percent of the domestic gross product, whereas they are spending on health care only 1 percent, and on education, 2.8 percent. The arms race is deepening the economic gulf between the industrially developed countries and the Asian, African and Latin American countries. Given the present rate of military preparations and military purchases, the economy of many developing countries could find itself in an impasse from which it would be difficult and, in some cases, impossible to extricate itself.

All this was discussed in their speeches by the representatives of the trade unions of India and Australia, the United States and Canada, Nicaragua and

Argentina, Mali and Lesotho and other national organizations, including those associated with the ICFTU. This position was reflected in the unanimously approved documents of the congress. They observe that while procuring for imperialism's military-industrial complex fabulous profits, the arms race is inevitably exacerbating all the social problems of the developed capitalist and developing countries.

The participants in the discussion in Berlin were unanimous that military preparations had become the main enemy of socioeconomic progress and are leading to the further impoverishment of millions of people, in the most developed capitalist countries included. The working people are demanding of their union organizations decisive action in support of peace and disarmament. They are advocating the unions' extensive international cooperation in this struggle.

Considering the positive features which have appeared in the approach of many reformist unions to the problems of peace and disarmament, many delegates to the congress called for bold new steps to be taken to overcome the situation wherein the three main international centers (the WFTU, ICFTU and the WCL) are operating along parallel, as it were, courses which are far apart. Required of union leaders today not less than of statesmen is an understanding of the realities of the nuclear age and a profound recognition that only the united protests of the unions will compel even the enemies of peace to hear the voice of the working people and make it possible to make it really powerful. And although the path toward such cooperation has not as yet been cleared of obstacles and various prejudices intentionally piled up by the enemies of detente, there is every reason to conclude that the 11th World Congress reflected the new way of thinking of the union masses and opened the broad highway toward the organization of joint protests for peace and against militarism and the arms race and, consequently, in defense of the working people's social, political and economic rights.

An important place in the work of the congress was occupied by questions of an intensification of the struggle of the working people and their unions against the crisis phenomena in the capitalist world and against the antiworker policy of the monopolies, particularly the TNC and the banks. The unions are undoubtedly on the side of S&T progress if it simultaneously serves social progress, as is the case in the socialist countries. As far as capitalism is concerned, it is incapable of using the important changes which are occurring in technology for the good of the working people. Furthermore, under the conditions of capitalism S&T progress leads to increased exploitation, reduced employment and a growth of unemployment. A. Krasucki, general secretary of the French CGT, and many other participants in the discussion devoted their speeches to this question. Particular attention was paid to the problem of employment and the struggle against the policy of eliminating jobs on the pretext of "modernizing" production in the course of the work of the Socioeconomic Commission, chairman of which was elected A. Stern, a representative of France's CGT. It was observed at the session that in the most industrially developed capitalist countries the number of "superfluous" people is currently over 30 million. There are approximately 500 million of them in the developing countries. Many delegates demanded of the ILO the adoption of effective measures against unemployment.

Studying this problem, the speakers of a number of countries (France, Mexico, Portugal) who spoke at the session of the commission sharply criticized the policy of the employers aimed at depriving millions of working persons of jobs on the pretext of "flexibility of the labor market" and the "application of new technology". They unanimously advocated the adoption of decisive measures against the antisocial use of new technology to the detriment of wages, health and vocational skills. A proposal concerning the creation under the conditions of the S&T revolution of efficient, permanent systems of the general and vocational training and retraining of the working people was submitted, inter alia. The summary document of the congress' Socioeconomic Commission presented a proposal concerning the creation of an intersectorial committee for new technology and the social aspects of its application. On the basis of the active participation of the sectoral international union movement the committee could practicably contribute to an exchange of experience and cooperation in the formulation of joint strategy in this promising sphere and also involve itself in the ecological consequences of the application of new technology and questions of its influence on the production environment.

At the center of the discussion in the commission was also the problem of development and that of the developing countries' foreign debt closely connected therewith. As the Cuban representative observed, the sum total of the debt of the young states was in excess of \$950 billion. The speakers emphasized that the trade union movement, having united, would be in a position to adopt effective measures against this plunder.

The congress deemed it important to erect by the powers of the working people and the unions a dependable barrier against all encroachments on employment and the working people's living standard. The delegates advocated the continuation and stimulation of the "Unions and Working People for Peace and Work" world campaign announced by the WFTU within the framework of the International Year of Peace. Proposals concerning the holding of an International Day of Struggle Against Unemployment and the organization of consultations between union experts from capitalist, socialist and the developing countries on problems of the position of the working people of various sectors of industry were supported unanimously. It was decided to engage in joint action in the ILO also, seeking the elaboration of an international right to work convention.

The increasingly more complex socioeconomic position of working people of the developing countries has become an acute problem. Many delegates emphasized that this is largely connected with the growing expansion in the economy of the young states of the TNC, whose actions are creating a direct threat to the sovereignty and independence of countries of the "third world". Even now key sectors of the economy in these countries have found themselves under the control of Western monopolies. In recent years they have been attempting with increasing frequency to impose development goals on the governments of young countries, put pressure on their currency-finance policy and demand a change in adopted social programs. Things are even going so far as attempts to oust governments which do not suit the international monopolies.

Representatives of the trade union movement of India, the Philippines, Mozambique, Ghana, Malaysia and other countries emphasized that the attempts of the TNC and the international financial institutions of the West closely connected with them to impose on the young states neocolonialist prescriptions for a "recovery" of the economy are being reflected in an extremely negative manner in the position of the working masses. The broadening expansion of foreign capital is contributing, for example, to increased unemployment inasmuch as at their enterprises the monopolies employ, as a rule, more capital-intensive and productive technology than in national industry. Ultimately all this is causing a severe reduction in employment not only in the sectors where the capital-intensive technology is being introduced but also in related industries. The increase in employment, on the other hand, at enterprises built by the TNC is proving negligible compared with the tremendous mass of people who have lost their jobs.

The speakers called attention to the disastrous consequences for the working people and the unions of the policy of the creation in the developing countries of so-called "free trade zones" (they are sometimes called "export zones"), where the international corporations are accorded a variety of customs and tax concessions and privileges. For the working people of the young states the "free zones" have become areas of superexploitation and arbitrariness and sources of a growth of social tension. On the territory of many of them unions have been banned, labor legislation is virtually absent and the TNC consider themselves exempt here from responsibility for compliance with safety equipment (sic) and concern for protection of the working people's health. It is not surprising that wages in the "free trade zones" are currently 10 times lower on average than in West Europe and the work day is 50 percent longer, while spending on social needs is four times less.

The historic duty of the international trade union movement, the congress said, is unification of efforts against the most refined methods of the plunder and exploitation of these countries and peoples. There is undoubtedly a direct connection between the monstrous debt bondage which has been imposed on the developing countries by international finance organizations and private transnational banks and companies--and these countries' debt constitutes almost \$1 trillion--and the \$1 trillion-plus growth of U.S. military spending in the last decade. Emphasizing this, the emissaries of the working people of the developing countries expressed demands for an immediate halt to the payment of this debt to private capital and declared plainly from the congress' rostrum: "We will no longer pay for the military spending of the United States!" The congress unanimously supported these legitimate demands and expressed itself in favor of the need for the speediest establishment of a new international economic order.

As far as specific directions of the struggle against the TNC are concerned, the participants in the congress advocated:

the establishment of all-around contacts between national trade union organizations and their prompt coordination of joint protests against the international monopolies;

a regular exchange of information on the activity of the TNC and also the borrowing of the experience of realization of antimonopoly action;

mutual support of workers in labor conflicts, from financial assistance through the demarches of allied unions at the headquarters of the TNC and solidarity strikes;

enlistment of the working people employed at enterprises of the TNC in the ranks of the organized workers movement. This applies primarily to the developing countries, where the degree to which the unions extend to the working people at plants and factories of international monopolies remains low.

There is no doubt that on the basis of these principles international and regional trade union associations will oppose even more actively neocolonialism and the economic enslavement of the peoples of the emergent countries and support the right of the working people and the unions to participate in the elaboration and implementation of development strategy at all levels and the right for the unions to be consulted on all aspects of socioeconomic policy. The congress supported the proposal of the delegation of Cuba and other Latin American countries for 23 October to be commemorated as a day of trade union solidarity with struggle against the developing countries' foreign debt. The delegates supported the proposal concerning the convening on a broad basis of a "Trade Unions for International Economic Security" world meeting.

More than any other, the Berlin congress paid tremendous attention to the problem of the defense of union rights and freedoms because the frontal offensive of capital against the working people is aimed primarily against their mass organizations--the trade unions. This problem was broached in the speeches of many participants in the congress at plenary sessions. It was also discussed in depth and in detail in the congress' Trade Union Rights Committee operating under the leadership of G. Osorio, chairman of the Trade Union Confederation of Workers of Colombia.

The participants in the discussion in the commission demonstrated on the basis of specific examples the scandalous violation of union rights in many capitalist and certain developing states and showed what a diverse arsenal of means is being employed for combating the unions. A concentrated offensive is under way against the entire set of working people's rights recorded in the General Declaration of Union Rights adopted by the Ninth World Trade Unions Congress. To be or not to be is a serious issue for the trade movement as such in countries of the West, primarily in the United States and Great Britain.

Just in recent times the world has witnessed the smashing of the Air Traffic Controllers Union in the United States, the putdown of the miners' strike and the persecution of the Print Workers Union in Britain, the formation of a common antistrike fund by the northern countries' Council of Employers and other actions indicating a coordinated offensive against the rights of the unions and the working people. Approximately 10,000 activists of the CGT at 2,085 enterprises were subjected to persecution in France, for example, in 1985 alone. According to ILO data, at the start of the 1980's the law provided

in 25 states for the disbandment of union organizations at the discretion of the enterprise management, and, furthermore, the union is deprived of the right to protest to the judicial authorities. In 18 countries union elections are controlled by the government, in another 18 countries the unions have been prohibited from engaging in political activity.

The participants in the discussion also spoke with alarm about the increasingly frequent attempts to undermine the union movement from "within" in order in the long term to reduce it to nothing altogether. For this purpose so-called "alternative" unions, which are in fact maintained by the employers, are being set up in a number of countries, primarily France and Japan.

Universal and mass violations of union rights are occurring in a number of developing states also. Brutal reprisals against union activists in their countries were described by representatives of South Africa, Chile, El Salvador, South Korea and other states with repressive-dictatorial regimes. The delegates of a number of developing countries called attention to the disquieting state of affairs in the so-called "free trade zones," where the TNC, with the support of the IMF and the World Bank, are seeking the adoption of anti-union measures.

The struggle for observance of union rights and freedoms is for the workers movement under current conditions of vital importance. The speeches of the participants in the congress contained an appeal for the concerted, united actions of the organizations of working people of different countries for the purpose of a fitting rebuff of the anti-union policy of big capital.

The congress supported the proposal concerning the creation of an international center for defense of working people's rights and trade union freedoms. The center could be the organizer of effective campaigns in defense of the working people's rights, primarily the right to work, enlist prominent lawyers for legal aid for unions and working people subject to repression and elaborate constructive programs pertaining to defense of human rights issues. This center could perform an important role in a further strengthening of class solidarity with the peoples and working people of countries where the rights and freedoms of working people are flouted.

It is proposed enlisting in participation in the work of the center prominent union figures, lawyers and representatives of international organizations dealing with questions of the defense of the working people's rights. The congress also heard a proposal concerning the creation of a special fund for aiding victims of anti-union repression, whose resources could be formed from voluntary contributions of both individual working people and the union organizations of various countries. The 11th World Trade Unions Congress thus demonstrated a resolve to rebuff capital and defend and extend trade union rights and gains.

The appeal for an intensification of the international solidarity of the working people and the unions on a worldwide scale was heard more powerfully than ever at the congress in Berlin. This appeal is all the more pertinent in that bourgeois ideologists have in recent years noticeably stepped up their attacks on the principles of proletarian internationalism and worker

solidarity. Some people would have us believe in all seriousness that the working class of the socialist countries and the proletariat in the capitalist world have no fundamental common interests. Inventions to the effect that East-West trade-economic relations are taking work away from the working people of Western countries are being disseminated. There is also much speculation apropos the contacts of socialist countries' foreign trade organizations with the international monopolies, which is allegedly "putting in a difficult position" workers striking at their enterprises. In other words, with the aid of base fabrications imperialist ideologists would like to perpetuate the division of the workers movement and erect insurmountable barriers between its individual detachments.

The progressive trade union movement has always adhered to positions of class solidarity, but under conditions where the monopolies and rightwing-bourgeois circles of capitalist countries have adopted a policy of "social revanche" the significance of proletarian solidarity is growing immeasurably. Without mutual support and concerted and coordinated action in defense of their vital rights and freedoms, it is today difficult for the unions to ward off the pressure of imperialist reaction and rebuff the encroachments on progressive democratic gains.

Trade union solidarity is a multilevel concept. It incorporates both strikes, demonstrations or other protest actions and the rendering of material and legal assistance to the working people and unions subject to brutal repression and persecution. And, of course, worker solidarity is indivisible. It applies both to support for the just struggle of the working people of the capitalist states and assistance in the development of a union movement in the emergent countries. All those assembled in the Berlin Palace of the Republic greeted with tremendous enthusiasm the speech of Daniel Ortega, leader of the Nicaraguan revolution, and voted unanimously for a resolution on the situation in Central America and the Caribbean. Resolutions of solidarity with the working people and the peoples of South Africa and Chile and the Arab working people and messages of solidarity to the working people of Turkey, South Korea and other countries were adopted with the same enthusiasm. Nor did the fate of the arrested leaders and activists of the Bolivian workers' center, the striking workers of Ecuador, the working people of Paraguay who are subjected to repression and all other fighters for the workers' cause go unheeded by the participants in the congress. An appeal to the working people and unions of all countries was adopted.

The participants in the congress valued highly the class solidarity which is invariably demonstrated by the unions of the USSR and the other socialist community countries. Soviet trade unions have always displayed solidarity with the working people of capitalist countries. We may refer, as an example, to the assistance to the British miners. Together with the unions of other countries the unions of the USSR sent Great Britain a "ship of solidarity" with foodstuffs for the families of the striking miners. Approximately 500 British miners and members of their families visited the Soviet Union. From

positions of internationalist solidarity help is being rendered the unions of the emergent states. Hundreds of union officials of these countries annually undergo training at facilities of the Higher Trade Union Movement School imeni N.M. Shvernik. The unions of the young states are granted other assistance also.

The delegates evaluated, in particular, as a specific expression of solidarity the tremendous amount of work on preparation of the congress which had been performed by the unions and leadership of the GDR, the striking speech at the opening of the congress by E. Honecker and the hospitality, warmth and cordiality of the labor outfits of the republic, which were visited by many participants in the congress.

The speeches of the representatives of the delegations of the fraternal socialist countries, just like the familiarization with the activity of the union organizations of the GDR, helped reveal to the delegates to the congress from the nonsocialist part of the world the extensive opportunities which the socialist society affords the working masses and their unions for active participation in all spheres of economic and social life. The practical experience of the working people and the unions of the socialist countries, which is being enriched continuously, the speakers said, confirms that these countries are the most progressive in today's world in questions of legislative establishment of guarantees and the expansion and application of the vitally important rights of the working people and the unions.

To take the Soviet Union, no decision of the organs of power at any level here affecting the interests of the working people is adopted without coordination with the trade unions. Not once in the history of the Soviet state has a law been enacted which might in some way have limited the unions' activity. On the contrary, legislation provides for the amenability of officials for actions preventing the unions from exercising their functions. Unions in the USSR participate openly and directly in the management of production. If an executive fails to heed the opinion of the union organization, the trade union committee may demand his punishment or removal. Thus more than 10,000 officials were strictly punished at the demand of the unions in the last year for violation of work safety rules.

A policy of an intensification of the unions' role in various spheres of economic, social and cultural life is being pursued consistently in our country. The Workforce Law enacted in 1983 strengthened still further the legal basis of the participation of the working people and their organizations in production management.

Great interest was evoked by the speeches of the members of the Soviet delegation on the restructuring of work and the enhanced role and responsibility of our unions in implementation of the strategic policy of an acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. A dependable reference point here are the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which advocated a further enhancement of the independence and assertiveness of the social organizations, including the unions. The congress emphasized the need for an extension of the range of problems in respect of which the decision of the workforce is final. The members of the Soviet delegation also described

the struggle to ensure that the union organizations make more assured and persistent use of their enormous rights and emphatically rid themselves of the elements of passiveness and sluggishness in their work which have not yet disappeared.

The accomplishment of this task is not only our purely internal concern. We understand full well that the gaze of the working people of the whole world is currently turned to the socialist countries. In enhancing the efficiency of their work the Soviet trade unions are simultaneously performing their international duty to the workers movement of the capitalist countries, which is conducting a difficult struggle against the antipopular policy of the major monopolies.

Proceeding toward their 18th congress, the Soviet trade unions confirm their resolve to continue to be active exponents of the USSR's Leninist peace-loving foreign policy and to multiply their efforts in the struggle for peace and the security and social progress of the peoples, the further development of the fraternal international solidarity of the working people, a strengthening of the unity of the international union movement and realization of the decisions of the 11th World Trade Unions Congress.

The time which has elapsed since the 11th World Congress has confirmed the soundness of its decisions. The congress contributed to a strengthening of the ranks and position of the progressive trade union movement and its proven vanguard--the WFTU--and a broadening of the unions' cooperation in the struggle for peace, removal of the threat of nuclear war, the rights and interests of the working people and social progress. The policy formulated by the congress is one of interaction between unions of different political persuasions, one of equal, friendly and objective dialogue.

The congress succeeded in finding a specific, union approach to problems of the struggle for peace and disarmament, which were viewed in close connection with the working people's protests for their vital socioeconomic demands.

The biggest forum of trade unions in history gave precise class-based answers to many problems troubling the working people of the world. It elaborated a realistic and constructive program of counteraction of the policy of "social revanche" being pursued by the forces of imperialism and the monopolies and the frontal offensive against the vital rights and interests of the working people which has been developed in the capitalist countries.

The 11th World Congress was held in the year of the 27th CPSU Congress, and it may be said without any exaggeration that the creative, constructive spirit of the congress was reflected in the atmosphere of the world congress, the course of its work and its decisions.

The landmark nature of the world congress was noted at a meeting between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and a delegation of the World Trade Unions Congress. He supported the opinion that realization of the documents adopted there would require strenuous work in the new manner, with regard for the entire distinctiveness and pivotal nature of the moment.

There is no doubt that this congress will go down in the history of the international trade union and workers movement as an important forum of the working people emphatically advocating the development and consolidation of the unions' international solidarity in the name of the progress of mankind, as a congress of new thinking, as a congress of an abrupt turnaround toward united actions in the interests of the working people. The strength of the decisions adopted in Berlin is their focus precisely on action, active struggle and militant, united protests of the unions in defense of the interests of the people of labor.

FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 15 October 1986.
2. "The Working People and the Arms Race," Prague, 1986, p 6.
3. PRAVDA, 1 November 1986.

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## PROBLEMS, DEVELOPMENT OF ASIAN WORKING CLASS ANALYZED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 14-31

[Article by E.Ye. Obminskiy and B.I. Slavnyy: "Socioeconomic Changes and the Working Class in the Asia-Pacific Region"]

[Excerpts] Among the processes determining the contemporary picture of the world, a particular part is played by the development of the Asia-Pacific region, which is evolving into a new economic and political center of world significance. The national and socioeconomic revival of the peoples of the vast expanse of the countries of Asia and Oceania in the postwar period was a powerful stimulus to the surmounting of national isolation and traditionalism and to the incorporation in the productive forces of these countries of the region of the achievements of contemporary S&T progress.

As emphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's speech in Vladivostok, "this process in Asia and the Pacific zone is currently on the upsurge: everything is on the move here, far from everything has become settled. The new is intermingling with the old, and the principles of life which even yesterday seemed permanent are giving way before a whirlwind of changes--social, scientific-technical, ideological.... How socioeconomic and political development will continue to develop here and which processes in relations between states will prevail--this will largely determine the fate of the entire world" (1).

Indeed, the interests of the world's most important states belonging to different social systems interact and clash in the Asia-Pacific region. Realization of the new political thinking based on the priority of salvation of the world from nuclear catastrophe over all other problems will largely depend on the extent to which it is possible to ensure the peaceful, truly good-neighbor cooperation of all countries pertaining to this region.

Imperialism represents the greatest danger for the development of positive processes in Asia and Oceania. From the very first postwar years various "bloc" models of the SEATO, ANZUS and CENTO types, which brought with them merely a new exacerbation of the international situation, a deformation of socioeconomic processes in the direction of militarization and an aimless waste of resources, were foisted on countries of the region. Having encountered the extreme unpopularity of bloc ideas and the subsequent

disintegration of the military groupings, the imperialist powers presented the idea of a "Pacific community" conceived in the form of an exclusive trade-economic grouping under the aegis of the region's developed capitalist states--primarily the United States and Japan--with an auxiliary role for Australia and New Zealand and with the participation of the developing countries and territories of Oceania, the Far East and Southeast Asia (2).

In connection with the fact that the developing countries have adopted an attitude of manifest suspicion toward this latest, essentially bloc, idea the imperialist powers are endeavoring to little-by-little, using all the military, political and economic resources at their disposal, influence the course of socioeconomic development in the region in order to secure conditions conducive to imperialist expansion. On the other hand internal socioeconomic processes are under way in the developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region in the course of which forces are maturing which are concerned for a dissociation from imperialism and the implementation of democratic transformations and a strengthening of cooperation among all states of Asia and the Pacific.

A stimulation of integration processes is currently under way here. At the same time, however, the economic and political rivalry of the imperialist powers and international monopolies is intensifying. It is primarily the United States and Japan and also the developed capitalist states of Australia and New Zealand which are participating in the competitive struggle. The states and territories which are called new industrialized countries (NIC)--South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore--and also the ASEAN countries (Indonesia, the Philippines, Thailand and Malaysia) are becoming involved increasingly deeply in the regional economic processes. It is here that there are abundant labor resources, which are being drawn intensively into capitalist production. And whereas for the NIC this process is being completed, in the main, for the ASEAN countries it is only just unfolding, entering its intensive phase.

Of course, not only the groups of countries which we have mentioned above are located on the territory of the region, numerous small states in terms of territory and population of Oceania and also the most populous countries of the world concentrated in South Asia (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma and Sri Lanka) are incorporated here. Finally, the socialist Indochina states (Vietnam, Laos) and also the PRC are included here. Confinement of the analysis to the processes occurring in the NIC and ASEAN is an attempt to precisely ascertain the consecutive stages of the uniform process of capitalist assimilation of the labor resources of the developing world. It can be assumed that together with the advancement along this path of the ASEAN countries the said process will also extend to a number of South Asian countries. In this case certain methods--technological, organizational, sociopolitical--summoned into being by the requirements of the combination of manpower and capital and officially approved in the ASEAN countries are to a certain extent a prototype of what awaits the South Asian countries.

We have already said that the said process is simultaneously becoming a principal prerequisite of the formation of the working class in countries of the region. But what kind of working class will this be--like that in the NIC,

that is, skilled and relatively highly paid (compared with the standards adopted in the ASEAN countries) or perhaps the model thereof will be the manufactory or nonfactory proletariat, whose conditions of exploitation are incomparably stiffer? Finally, if both models are preserved, which will be the predominant one or, in K. Marx's words, which conditions of exploitation will be perceived by the workers as "self-evident and natural".

Two main types of the use of manpower in social production are taking shape in the economy of the developing countries of the region, and, consequently, two types of proletariat. Obviously, it is profitable to the capitalist to use skilled and highly paid manpower only where the technology demands (7). As is known, the very process of the relocation of many sectors of production to the developing countries is motivated by the discrepancy in the wage levels of the workers in these countries and in the industrially developed countries. For this reason the questions raised above may be formulated differently: which type of worker is predetermined as the predominant type by local conditions? The worker of the first type predominates in the NIC; how, on the other hand, is the situation evolving in the ASEAN countries and certain adjacent countries pertaining to South Asia?

Among the factors influencing this process an important place is occupied by population growth. The demographic growth rate in countries of the region, although having declined compared with the 1960's-1970's, remains high (see Table 1). In the ASEAN countries and also in South Asia living and work conditions on the bulk of the peasant farms have deteriorated, on the whole. The number of landless peasants has grown, the cultivable areas per person employed has declined and the scale of open and hidden unemployment has increased. The deterioration in the conditions of the application of labor is being reflected painfully in the lives of many hundreds of millions of people. It is they who constitute the 39 percent of rural manpower which in Indonesia is employed in agriculture less than 24 hours a week, and if the level at which the counting of partial employment begins is raised to 34 hours per week, the proportion of the partially employed rises to 57.5 percent. In Thailand the level of partial employment in the peak season of agricultural work and its level in the interseason period in 1983 fluctuated from 18 percent of manpower employed in agriculture to 43.2 percent (8).

Table 1. Assessment of the Numbers and Annual Growth Rate of the Population and Also the Proportion of the Urban Population of 1980 and 1983

Country population in millions (1)	(2) Population in millions of rural population		(3) Annual growth rate of rural population (%)		(4) Urban population in millions of rural population (%)	
	1980	1983	1980	1983	1980	1983
Indonesia (6)	248.8	261.5	1.7	2.0	29.0	30.7
Thailand (7)	116.8	119.1	1.9	2.2	36.2	36.4
Malaysia (8)	38.1	39.9	1.6	1.9	56.9	62.0
Philippines (9)	151.0	159.2	1.8	2.2	24.1	24.1
Myanmar (10)	13.8	14.7	2.2	2.4	30.7	30.7
Singapore (11)	48.3	51.9	2.4	3.4	38.7	38.7
Bangladesh (12)	12.4	13.5	1.2	1.3	74.1	74.1
Timor (13)	46.5	49.4	2.0	2.4	15.3	15.3
Brunei Darussalam (6)	38.2	39.8	2.7	3.0	11.3	11.3
Maldives (15)	100.4	102.8	1.8	2.4	24.0	24.0
Papua New Guinea (16)	80.1	94.4	3.1	2.9	29.1	29.1
Nepal (17)	14.8	15.5	1.7	2.0	21.3	21.3

**Key:** 1. Country or region. 2. Population (millions). 3. Annual growth norms (%). 4. Proportion of urban population (%). 5. ESCAP region. 6. Hong Kong. 7. Japan. 8. South Korea. 9. Indonesia. 10. Malaysia. 11. The Philippines. 12. Singapore. 13. Thailand. 14. Bangladesh. 15. India. 16. Pakistan. 17. Sri Lanka.

**Source:** "ESCAP Population Division. Printout of 1984 Assessment of Population Prospects and Demographic Indicators".

Together with the partial employment in rural areas, there is also an increase in open unemployment (see Table 2). In Bangladesh--one of the poorest and most overpopulated countries of the world--the proportion of the urban unemployed is comparatively small, in connection with the overall low proportion of the urban population, the proportion of rural unemployed, on the other hand, is very great. It needs to be considered here that the indicators of open unemployment far from always reflect the true state of affairs. Only those who in terms of their material position are capable of not working for some time while waiting for suitable employment and so forth figure in them, as a rule. It is frequently a question of children of comparatively well-to-do families who have acquired an education and who are hoping for comparatively well-paid work.

**Table 2. Proportion of Urban and Total Unemployment (% of Total Manpower)**

		Proportion of urban unemployed	Total proportion
Bangladesh	1983/84	1.1	37.4
India	1978	8.8	3
Indonesia	1980	2.8	1.7
Malaysia	1975	7.2	6.5
Philippines	1982	12.2	4.1

**Source:** "Economic and Social Survey of Asia and Pacific, 1985," Bangkok, 1986, p 95.

The tremendous scale of unemployment and partial employment in countries of the region indicates the underuse of human potential. People cannot find a place for themselves in economic activity connected with modern production. This is an important point, and its meaning is that the high indicators of economic growth are not carrying with them the solution of social problems, primarily that of employment and mass poverty. This growth is concentrated in a narrow sector of modern industries, which requires only a negligible proportion of the entire available manpower. The further development of this sector is capable of influencing merely to a negligible extent the situation which has taken shape as of this time in the sphere of manpower employment (see Table 3).

Table 3. Proportion of Unemployed in Individual Countries of the ESCAP Region in 1975-1983 (% of Total Manpower)

Страна (1)	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Бангладеш (2)	41,0	38,2	40,1	38,1	38,1	38,5	37,9	36,3	37,4
Бирма (3)	1,6	7,9	2,3	3,2	3,2	3,5	4,3	4,4	4,6
Гонконг (4)	9,1	5,6	4,5	3,0	2,8	3,8	4,0	3,6	4,5
Индия (5)	—	—	—	—	—	6,9	7,6	8,5	—
Индонезия (6)	—	2,3	2,3	2,5	3,3	1,7	2,7	3,0	—
Малайзия (7)	6,9	6,1	6,1	5,4	5,2	5,7	5,1	5,1	6,0
Пакистан (8)	1,7	1,7	1,7	1,7	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,5	3,9
Филиппины (9)	4,2	5,0	4,2	4,0	3,5	4,3	5,2	4,4	4,1
Южная Корея (10)	4,1	3,9	3,8	3,2	3,8	5,5	1,5	4,4	4,1
Сингапур (11)	4,6	4,5	3,9	3,6	3,4	3,5	2,9	2,6	3,3
Шри-Ланка (12)	18,3	—	—	15,3	14,7	15,3	17,9	—	—
Таиланд (13)	0,4	0,8	0,8	0,7	0,9	0,9	0,9	3,6	—

Key: 1. Country. 2. Bangladesh. 3. Burma. 4. Hong Kong. 5. India. 6. Indonesia. 7. Malaysia. 8. Pakistan. 9. Philippines. 10. South Korea. 11. Singapore. 12. Sri Lanka. 13. Thailand.

Source: "Key Indicators of Developing Member Countries of ADB," Manila, 1985.

The inequality in the distribution of land resources is superimposed on top of other types of inequality characteristic of the traditional rural society: sex and age inequality. Even at the present time women remain the part of society most deprived of equal rights and oppressed, their work in the home rarely shows up in statistics and their attempts to offer their services outside of the home meet with disapproval on the part of the men, as competitors, and on the part of the senior members of the family. This explains the relatively low degree of women's participation in social production (see Table 4). Nonetheless, the situation is changing rapidly. Women are moving increasingly actively onto the urban manpower markets and becoming an important part thereof, forming the detachments of the working class which are subjected to exploitation with the aid of the latest imported technology.

Table 4. Proportion of Women in the Labor Force, 1970-1980 (%)

Страна (1)	1970		1980	
	Женщ. Числен. (2)	Женщ. Числен. (3)	Женщ. Числен. (2)	Женщ. Числен. (3)
Бангладеш (4)	2,5	28,0	3,4	5,1
Гонконг (5)	26,8	54,8	37,2	42,4
Германия (6)	11,9	52,5	14,4	52,7
Индонезия (7)	22,0	46,0	23,3	47,9
Малайзия (8)	20,9	44,2	26,0	48,5
Пакистан (9)	5,2	55,6	7,5	53,4
Филиппины (10)	21,3	46,0	27,5	49,3
Южная Корея (11)	23,2	42,8	25,8	47,4
Сингапур (12)	18,5	50,8	32,6	59,3
Шри-Ланка (13)	18,7	50,1	21,2	53,1
Таиланд (14)	46,0	52,0	45,7	57,4

**Key:** 1. Country. 2. Women. 3. Men. 4. Bangladesh. 5. Hong Kong. 6. India.  
7. Indonesia. 8. Malaysia. 9. Pakistan. 10. Philippines. 11. South Korea.  
12. Singapore. 13. Sri Lanka. 14. Thailand.

**Source:** "Yearbook of Labor Statistics 1984," Geneva, 1984.

Another part of the labor force which finds itself in a particularly inauspicious situation on the labor market and which forms the bulk of the unemployed is the youth. The age structure of the developing countries is such that people 15 and under constituted in 1983 one-third of the entire population of these countries, and 22 and under, one-half. Whence the problem of migration from the countryside to the city and, further, the problem of urban unemployment. These are problems of young people, and to a greater extent of young women, what is more, than of young men. Given the indicators of unemployment characteristic of the manpower of these countries as a whole, unemployment among the youth amounts to 81.7 percent in Sri Lanka, 78 percent in Indonesia, 63.6 percent in India and 60.4 percent in Thailand. In Indonesia open unemployment among the urban youth 24 years and under constitutes 11.3 percent, whereas for the labor force as a whole, only 1.7 percent (11).

Young people suffering from their situation migrate to the city, where they also find a system of inequality, only more refined and camouflaged. In the wake of L.I. Reysner and N.A. Simoniya, we would call this system a synthesis of the traditional and the modern (13). Its modern component is determined by the capitalist laws of man's buying and selling of manpower. However, it is important to note here certain differences of this phenomenon from that studied by the classics of scientific socialism. The employer and the hired worker do not so much effect an exchange of equivalents here--the first advancing variable capital, and the second representing for producer consumption the "manpower" commodity--as assume mutual obligations of the traditional type. The first undertakes to feed and render protection, the second, to work to the extent that the first requires.

Thus finding himself at a capitalist enterprise, the migrant from the village proves to be partially voluntarily and partially forcibly in a new system of dependence. It is either the dependence of a debtor obliged to work off the debt to the creditor or the dependence of a person who has ended up at an enterprise not of his own accord but sold by his parents, the elder of the tribal group and so forth. In the situation which takes shape at the enterprise this dependence is not something unnecessary or irrational, on the contrary, it is an important functional element in the system. Essentially the entire economic consideration of the employer is founded on the use of extremely cheap manpower, and mechanization facilities and sources of energy are lacking, as a rule, what is more. For this reason heavy, exhausting labor proves to be the main factor of production growth. And, truly, experience shows that laziness and partial employment are unknown here, on the contrary, the brutal exploitation of the worker and the "self-exploitation" of the boss are the rule.

The synthesis of the traditional and the modern has become most prevalent in the so-called "informal sector" of the economy of the region's developing countries. The bulk of the unskilled manpower, including the overwhelming majority of migrants from the countryside, is employed in this sector. In such cities as Calcutta and Dacca this sector encompasses over 60 percent of the urban manpower, 87 percent in Bangkok and 45 percent in Djakarta. A survey of the employment in the informal sector of Bangkok showed that over 70 percent of the workers are absolutely without qualifications and that over 60 percent are recent migrants from the countryside. In Bangladesh the work day at enterprises of this sector lasts 12.5 hours, and 83.5 percent of those employed have no days off, what is more.

The "informal sector" takes advantage mainly of the commercial opportunities which are afforded as a result of the activity of the modern highly productive enterprises. The repair of durables and also the production of a number of consumer goods at prices accessible to the broad masses of the urban population are practiced in this sector. Further, this sector undertakes the construction of private homes and diverse services. Labor productivity in this sector is, as a rule, low, incomes are correspondingly low also. In Calcutta the heads of families employed in this sector earn less than 240 rupees per month, that is, approximately the level of the minimum wage. At the same time, however, in Manila and a number of other big cities of the region the income of employers in the "informal sector" is relatively high, which reflects the market situation connected with the rapid economic growth of individual areas.

The poverty of the data pertaining to the "informal sector" is no accident. The principle of management here is based not only on an absence of control on the part of the state but also on manifestly illegal types of activity. The central problem is the methods of use of the manpower. Compulsion to labor, with the aid of violence included, enables the employers not only to maintain the necessary level of competitiveness but even sometimes to obtain a sizable, by local yardsticks, income. The profitability and earning power of entrepreneurial activity in this sector are attested by the fact that the majority of employers here are comparatively young people, and a considerable proportion thereof, what is more, has taken the path from skilled labor in modern production to independent "business" in the "informal sector". Besides illegal methods of recruitment and use of manpower, the employers of this sector are forced to also employ illegal methods of obtaining raw material (from the big modern enterprises, for example) and also financial resources. For this they turn to so-called "high-risk" sources.

Illegal activity is generally not the privilege merely of this sector; its particular feature is rather that it has no precisely drawn boundary with criminal business. Therefore the well-known Indian expert A.K. Sen attempts to separate legal from illegal activity as that "producing goods and services recognized by society". In addition, he introduces to the concept of legal method the right of the worker "to refuse hire at his own discretion" (14). This right appears strange in an economy marked by a huge surplus of manpower, but it becomes understandable if we consider the traditional forms of relations between employer and worker in the "informal sector". Finally, it is important to consider also the very nature of government regulation of

production activity inherent in the majority of countries of the region. This regulation is exercised by a government official machinery which is infected with corruption and people openly endeavoring to use all the opportunities afforded them for illegal gain (15).

Despite its scale, the "informal sector" is not the main reservoir for the use of labor resources based on traditional hiring conditions. There is a sphere of employment which is even more concealed from observation, where labor productivity and incomes are even lower. It is a question of industry located outside of the cities. It is there that a large part of the manpower which is not incorporated in agricultural production is employed in countries of the region, but it is on this activity that we have the most insignificant data. It is known merely that live labor plays an even bigger part there than in the urban "informal sector," that employment there increases not only to the detriment of labor productivity but also to the detriment of the total volume of production and, finally, that consumer goods geared to the demand of the traditional economy are produced there. That is, the surmounting of the noncommodity isolation of the traditional rural society and its involvement in exchange relations are occurring in line with the development of this extremely inefficient and backward sphere of industrial production.

Such is the category of proletariat which in Soviet scientific literature is defined as manufactory or nonfactory (16). Currently the said sector is producing a negligible proportion of goods and services in terms of value, but providing employment and sustenance for a large number of people. It has another role also: the traditional or neotraditional relations between the workers and employers which are customary in this sector are extending beyond it. At modern enterprises in the city of Ahmadabad (India) part of the manpower is used given informal terms of hire. In principle this type of worker is acceptable everywhere that the quantity of live labor employed makes it possible for its productivity to be of no great concern. The possibilities of the use of this type of worker are sufficiently extensive in construction, garment production and so forth. Hiring is frequently done here on a collective basis: a contract is concluded with the head of a family or leader of a tribe, accordingly, compensation is the right to participate in the general meal and obtain the minimum ration. This type of worker is unacceptable where a high quality of labor is required and where this cannot be achieved by an increase in the quantity thereof.

A different type of worker takes shape in the "formal sector," that is, that which is under the control of official labor legislation. The worker employed here has, as a rule, certain qualifications, and, accordingly, his labor productivity should be comparatively high (if compared with the productivity of an unskilled worker). The development of production concentrated in this sector is accompanied by a growth of both labor productivity and employment (see Table 5), and a growth of both variables is being observed everywhere apart from the Philippines, what is more. In South Korea, Singapore and Thailand the growth of wages has even outpaced labor productivity growth. The latter fact is possibly connected with the TNC's reorientation toward the domestic markets of the developing countries. In producing goods which are a part of the consumer diet of the so-called "middle strata" the TNC need an expansion of the range of consumers of their products.

Table 5. Real Wages in Manufacturing Industry (%)

	Average annual real wage growth rate	Average annual growth rate of real production per person employed (1970-1979)
Hong Kong, 1969-1981	2.38	4.8
South Korea	9	5
Malaysia, 1970-1979	1.4	3.8
Philippines 1969-1980	-6.6*	2.1
Singapore, 1979-1983	-5.5**	
Thailand 1973-1985	6.5	1.9
1972-1983	5.9	4
1978-1983	1.4	
Bangladesh, 1973-1982	3.7	
India, 1969-1980	1.4	
Pakistan 1970-1976	2	0.8
1976-1981	1.4***	
Sri Lanka, 1969-1982	7.6***	1.6

Source: ILO-ARTEP. "A Review of Some Major Employment Issues for Asia," 1985, Bangkok.

\* Unskilled.

\*\* Skilled.

\*\*\* Large-scale manufacturing industry enterprises.

In spite of the widespread views on the TNC as a factor of the formation of Western-type labor relations, the analysis that has been made shows that the mode of use of manpower at enterprises of the TNC gravitates in its general features toward that which has taken shape in the "informal sector". The main thing is that the efforts of the organizers of production are geared not so much to an increase in individual labor productivity as to ensuring the maximum labor contribution of all workmen. Traditional forms of relations between employer and workman like compulsion to labor with the aid of coercion are not employed here, but in fact the customary level of wages at these enterprises represent an instrument of people's compulsion to the most brutal conditions of exploitation. Finally, nor do the TNC shun openly traditional forms of labor relations: this is characteristic of local enterprises connected with them by subcontracts and also the forms of organization of production which are not reflected in statistics and merely individual instances of whose activity accidentally get into the press. For example, quotas for the sewing of individual parts of contemporary clothing, allocated with the aid of middlemen, the executants of which are either urban out-workers or village families and isolated tribal groups even.

Undoubtedly, there is also a growth in the said countries of the region of the category of workers which is connected with large-scale modern production and presupposes not so much intensity and duration of labor effort as experience, skills and professional training. There are enterprises of this type, state-

owned included, in India, Indonesia and South Korea. However, processes are under way there indicating not so much a divergence from the type of use of manpower customary in the "informal sector" as a rapprochement. In South Korea, for example, the length of the work week has grown continuously: in the period 1973-1983 it increased in manufacturing industry from 51.2 to 54.4 hours (18). We have mentioned above that at large-scale enterprises of India instances of part of the manpower being used on informal hiring terms have been noted. The prospects of the development of the working class in these countries are determined largely by the prospects of the development of the modern type of production. The relatively low efficiency thereof only may be ascertained as of the present: the experience of India, Indonesia and South Korea is testimony to this (19). For countries with abundant resources of cheap manpower a development path oriented mainly toward the use of capital factors cannot be the optimum. The history of development of recent years proves the soundness of this assertion.

The migration of manpower in the region also is making an essential mark on the process of the creation and location of new sectors of material production, in the course of which profound contradictions between local and foreign entrepreneurs on the one hand and local working people on the other are being revealed.

In addition to intracountry migrations, primarily from the village to the city, intercountry migrations are becoming increasingly prevalent in the region (see Table 7). In 1983 approximately 3.6 million persons from countries of the region worked in the oil-producing countries of the Persian Gulf. India and Pakistan sent there up to 1 million of their citizens each. Besides, intraregional migrations are becoming prevalent also: Indonesians work in Malaysia and Singapore, Malaysians in Singapore, Filipinos on the U.S. West Coast and so forth. South Korea has imparted the most organized forms to this process: over 100,000 citizens of this territory worked until recently in Persian Gulf countries on the construction of industrial facilities. In terms of the export of construction services South Korea is in first place in the world.

Table 7. Annual Scale of Foreign Migration 1976-1984 (Persons)

	1976	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Бангладеш (1)	6 087	30 573	55 787	62 805	59 216	56 734
Индия (2)	4 000	230 000	270 000	240 000	225 000	200 000
Пакистан (3)	41 690	133 397	153 081	142 945	128 206	100 000
Филиппины (4)	19 221	157 394	210 044	250 115	380 263	371 063
Южная Корея (5)	37 692	146 436	175 114	196 855	184 277	152 673
Шри-Ланка (6)	1 500	27 000	55 000	55 000		
Таиланд (7)	1 287	20 809	24 572	105 163	64 527	75 021

Key: 1. Bangladesh. 2. India. 3. Pakistan. 4. Philippines. 5. South Korea.  
6. Sri Lanka. 7. Thailand.

Source: "Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific," 1975, p 105.

Under the conditions of present-day capitalism imports of manpower are not a manifestation of a shortage thereof but a means of economizing on variable capital. Foreign workers do not enjoy the protection of national legislation and for this reason agree to wage terms below the minimum for the given country. As a rule, these migrants are the citizens of countries which are poorer than the host country and, furthermore, the inhabitants of rural areas, without rights and prepared to tolerate the conditions imposed on them. They frequently live in specially built camps, and contact with local citizens is forbidden them, furthermore. Such terms are contained in the agreements reached between the leadership of the host country and South Korea. The population of the host countries often adopts an unfriendly attitude toward the foreign workers, regarding them as an undesirable social element constituting, in addition, competition for certain strata of local working people. A broadening of the political and social outlook for some of the migrants, a raising of their consciousness, class included, and so forth is complicated.

The facts testify to the accelerated development of capitalism in countries of the region. The latter is no longer an isolated enclave, but is developing slowly and unswervingly, ousting the traditional structures and capturing economic and social space (20). At the same time, however, the traditional character is not disappearing, it is entering into a synthesis with capitalist production relations and beginning to penetrate them, mediating the process of the incorporation in production of local manpower resources. A working class in countries of the region is taking shape accordingly: it is far from being confined to industrial workers employed in modern capital-intensive production and is beginning to an increasingly great extent to incorporate broad and diverse strata of the working people exploited by capital. Enmeshed in innumerable vestiges of traditional social relations, these working people are finding themselves the object of the most barbarous exploitation, which is producing high profits for international and national capital and appreciably expanding its social base thanks to the enlistment in the ranks of entrepreneurs of petty and the most minor exploiters. At the same time, however, traditionalism is intensifying the ailments of this version of capitalist development: the working people, isolated in the face of the exploiters, frequently prove powerless to overcome enmity and disagreements on a traditional basis. They are succumbing to agitation on the part of reactionary forces and are not always capable of making their way in the political situations which arise in society. Corrupt and venal political regimes and also the tremendous destructive powers accumulated in the lumpen masses--all this is contributing to increased political and social instability and knocking society from the path of progress. Under these difficult conditions there is an increase in the role of the political vanguard of the working class, the communist and workers parties and the trade unions, which are confronted with tasks pertaining to the cohesion of the workers on a class basis and an enhancement of the level of their consciousness and their understanding of their social role.

The facts testify that capitalism, while assimilating the economic territory of the majority of developing countries of the Asia-Pacific region and removing to a certain extent anachronisms of the past, is creating new acute

social contradictions, which even at the present stage of internationalization of the region are perceptibly making their presence felt.

The serious political and socioeconomic situation in the region is increasing the polarization between labor and capital in respect of regional problems. Imperialist circles are hatching far-reaching plans for strengthening their socioeconomic base in the region both for the purpose of deriving new profits and from the viewpoint of military-strategic interests. Thus a new outline of regional integration was put forward at the annual meeting of the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council in October 1985 in Honolulu with the participation of business circles of the United States, Japan, Australia and a number of developing countries of the region. The representatives of Japan proposed breaking the region down into "technozones," which would accommodate sectors connected with electronics, biotechnology, robotics and so forth. Without waiting for the response of other countries, Japan is already preparing resources for financing the corresponding research. The developing countries are hereby being offered an updated version of the "export zones," which will lead to a stratification of the working people, their isolation in economically uncoupled facilities and a weakening of their unity within national frameworks. Essentially this is a Pacific version of the confrontation, in K. Marx's words, of a "Masonic Brotherhood" of exploiters and the disconnected working people's masses.

Increasingly, in line with the growth of the working class and its entry onto the political scene with independent demands, the ruling circles of countries of the region proceeding along a capitalist path are canceling or limiting rights and freedoms recorded in constitutions and other laws enacted per the bourgeois-democratic model prior to the working class' conversion into a real force. This, for example, is precisely the situation in South Korea, where the comparatively liberal articles of the constitution and labor legislation are periodically canceled. Simultaneously use is made of the precapitalist traditions of "loyalty" to those who stand higher on the social ladder for setting the "loyal" workers against the "rebels". In the same South Korea the employers are putting up every conceivable obstacle to the working people's attempts to form independent unions. A typical statement made by a hospitalized worker of a garment factory reads: "The employers forced the workers who were not members of the union to beat us up and thereby put an end to our union's activity" (26). For their part, the TNC are opposing in every possible way attempts by the national state to implement measures pertaining to the creation of a more integrated economy. At the insistence of outside creditors work was suspended in the Philippines, in particular, in 1985 on the National Development Movement official program, which was aimed at helping the small local businessmen and the poor strata of the population.

Throughout recent years the international corporations have been actively spinning a web of intraregional ties enabling them to take advantage of the mobility of intrafirm production for an increase in surplus value thanks to reduced manpower costs. Thus the American Castle and Cook pineapple-growing company transferred plantation production from the Hawaiian Islands to the Philippines and Thailand, where it pays the workers 30 and 25 cents an hour respectively, that is, 20 times less than in the home country. Actively attracting foreign investments, Malaysia intended, following the economic

recession, considerably increasing production in 1986. However, as the journal SOUTH emphasizes, "the workers will be paid less for greater labor efforts" (28). Singapore has found no other means of reviving the economy than a 2-year freeze on the working people's wages and the cancellation of corporation taxes imposed earlier. It is no accident that the thought is running through monopoly circles to the effect that Singapore "is to be the regional center of the TNC" (29).

The young working class of the Asia-Pacific region is counterposing to the offensive of local and foreign exploiters against the working people's rights growing consciousness, organization and an aspiration to unification of efforts in the joint struggle. However, it is encountering big difficulties on this path.

The trade union movement is distinguished by considerable fragmentariness. Whereas in the years of the anticolonial struggle the forces of the trade unions were united, following liberation they proved to be split since together with class differences religious and ethnic interests made their presence felt quite strongly. Thus 10 head trade union centers were formed in India, 17 in Sri Lanka, 5 in the Philippines and 3 in Thailand (30). Nonetheless, the working people's objective interest in joint actions is leading to a strengthening of solidarity in periods of strike battles. Whereas in the recent past such solidarity was displayed mainly on socioeconomic issues, in recent years the trade union organizations of the Asia-Pacific region have paid ever increasing attention to political problems, both in individual countries and in the region as a whole. At the national level we may mention the joint protest of the majority of trade union centers of Sri Lanka against the antiworker policy of the government manifested in the course of the Tamil-Sinhalese conflict; the struggle of the Philippines' trade unions against the repressive policy of former President Marcos; the joint actions of Pakistan's industrial and agricultural worker unions for a restoration of democracy in the country and against militarization and the policy of diktat pursued by the Zia-ul-Haq regime; the struggle of Thailand's working people against the government's anti-union policy; general strikes by the forces of all the main trade union organizations of Bangladesh. The peace movement is becoming increasingly strong. Millions of people in India, Australia, Japan and the Philippines are participating in peace marches and taking part actively in the struggle for disarmament.

Particular importance is attached to the unions' actions at the regional level. The unions, as the most populous organizations of the working people, have set as their paramount task unification of efforts in the struggle for disarmament, the preservation of peace and the deliverance of the peoples from the threat of nuclear catastrophe. Back in 1982 a representative conference was held in Delhi in which trade union centers of various persuasions participated. The participants demanded the elimination of all military bases in the region and the conversion of the Pacific into a nuclear-free zone. They condemned the growth of militarism in a number of countries of the region and demanded the use solely of peaceful means for the settlement of regional conflicts. An antiwar forum, in which unions which are members of the WFTU and also the ICFTU united, has been founded in the South Pacific.

A big success en route to the unity of action of the working people was the conference of trade union centers of Asia and Oceania held in February 1985 in Delhi. More than 100 delegates representing 35 trade union centers from 21 countries of the region and also representatives of the WFTU and other international trade union centers and organizations of the UN system took part in the conference. The adopted declaration clearly formulated the most urgent tasks of the working class and its trade unions in the struggle for peace and disarmament, social progress and a new international economic order and against neocolonialism and the expansion of the TNC. A coordination office to facilitate the implementation of the adopted decisions was set up.

A significant phenomenon in the workers movement of the region is the trend toward unity of action at the regional level of working people of individual sectors of industry. The Asia-Pacific Coordinating Committee of Unions of Textile Industry, Clothing and Related Sectors is operating successfully. The first issue of the committee's press organ, ASIAN HERALD, emphasizes the need for an intensification of the anti-imperialist struggle and a strengthening of the unity of action of the working people, which will make it possible "to reveal new vistas of cooperation, strengthen ties between workers of the region and consolidate bonds of solidarity in the course of this process" (31).

There is no doubt that the stimulation of the workers movement in respect of the most important political and socioeconomic problems of the region is having a growing impact on the sociopolitical situation in Asia and Oceania. The persistent and relatively skillfully organized joint protests of the working class in alliance with all progressive forces of the region are contributing to the solution of the main question of the present day--the struggle for peace. In August 1985 the South Pacific was proclaimed by the governments of this region a zone free of nuclear weapons. The corresponding document was opened for signature in Rarotonga, on the Cook Islands. It was signed by the leaders of eight countries, and the heads of a further four countries confirmed their intention to sign the document.

The strengthened movement of peace supporters in Australia, New Zealand, India, Japan and other countries of the region shows the possibilities of the working class' cooperation with broad strata of the population and in spheres of social and political life also. There is currently a broad coincidence of opinions on such questions as peace and disarmament, the need for satisfaction of the working people's economic and social demands and the establishment of a new international economic order, the development of democracy and a broadening of the working people's rights.

The facts testify that against the background of the continuing socioeconomic and political changes in the Asia-Pacific region and the intensified processes of the development of regional ties various approaches to determination of the future of the region and its role in world political and economic life are being manifested distinctly. The imperialist powers are endeavoring to convert the region into an exclusive military-political and economic grouping under the aegis of the West and to perpetuate the dependence of the developing countries of Asia and Oceania.

As a counterweight to this, the organizations of the working class, proceeding from the interests of the broadest masses of the population, are conducting a struggle for a different, democratic alternative to the region's development. Radically opposed to the trans-capitalist models of the region's integration are the goals and tasks of the workers movement pertaining to a strengthening of the working people's regional solidarity on the basis of anti-imperialist and anti-monopoly struggle for the peaceful cooperation of the states of the region with different social systems.

The sociopolitical changes in the region, which have confronted vast, earlier inert strata of the population with acute problems not only of a national but also global nature, are inevitably leading to an increase in the role of the working class in the solution of these problems and its influence on the general development process. The future of the peoples not only of this region but of the whole world will largely depend on its capacity for performing this role.

#### FOOTNOTES

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## FINAL REPORT ON CONFERENCE ON WORKING CLASS IN PRESENT DAY

[Editorial Report] Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, January-February 1987 carries on pages 32-115 the second set of materials from the conference "The Working Class and the Present Day" held 8-10 October 1986 in Moscow. The material published here includes eight presentations given at the conference and two surveys (obzor). The presentations published in RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR are: "Structural Changes in the Working Class and the Policy of the Communists" by Willi Gerns, member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the board of the German Communist Party; "The Present Day and the Class Struggle" by Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States; "Economic Prosperity Faced With the Choice: Economics of Arms or Economics of Peace" by Ignnaas Lindemans, chairman of the Confederation of Christian Workers of Belgium and chairman of the Independent Christian Movement for Peace; "The Working Class in the Contemporary World" by Ib Norlund, member of the Danish Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat Executive Committee; "Certain New Problems Facing the Working Class" by William Kashtan, general secretary of the Communist Party of Canada; "The Working Class and Contemporary Problems" by Cheddi Jagan, general secretary of the Guyana People's Progressive Party; "The Working Class and the Changing World" by Sandor Gaspar, chairman of the WFTU, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Hungarian Council of Trade Unions; and "Contemporary Imperialism and the Working Class (Trends of the '80's)" by James Stewart, general secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The two surveys published are: "The Struggle Against the Forces of Reaction and War" by A. Shumavan and "The Scientific-Technical Revolution: Strategy of Capital--Challenge to the Working Class" by S.I. Tatishchev.

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## DANISH PEACE MOVEMENT, ORGANIZATIONS DESCRIBED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 pp 129-135

[Article by A.-W. Karlsen: "'Country of Reservations'"]

[Text] On the eve and at the outset of the 1980's bourgeois commentators of a number of West European countries put into circulation the term "Danization" in connection with the reservations of Denmark's then social democratic government concerning the NATO leadership's demands for a jacking up of the level of military spending. In subsequent years Denmark's representatives (sometimes together with those of Greece, Holland or Spain) have on several occasions not been in unison with their most belligerent North Atlantic allies on questions of the deployment of the new American intermediate-range nuclear missiles in West Europe, the making of their territory available for the deployment of chemical weapons, realization of the SDI program and such. It is no accident that Denmark, as Jorgen Jensen, chairman of the Danish CP, recalled, addressing the 27th CPSU Congress, "is called the country of reservations" (1). This has been brought about to a considerable extent by the fact that Denmark is one of the few NATO countries where the mass peace movement managed to avail itself of the split in the camp of local Atlantists and in the period from December 1982 through May 1986 to carry through parliament (the Folketing) 19 resolutions aimed against the militarist plans of imperialism.

This article attempts to reveal the particular features of the development of Denmark's peace movement at the current stage and determine its structure and ideological-political tenets and methods and forms of activity for influencing the mass consciousness and also the attitude of the labor unions and the country's biggest party--the Danish Social Democratic Party--toward the struggle for peace and disarmament.

Denmark's organized peace movement is based on a century-old tradition of the struggle of antimilitarist forces (2). In the postwar period this movement gave an active account of itself at the start of the 1950's in connection with the collection of signatures to the Stockholm Appeal and at the start of the 1960's within the framework of the campaign against nuclear weapons. At the current stage Denmark's antiwar protest movement, experiencing rises and falls, is constantly expanding its social base and is on the lookout for new ways of struggle. The mass support for many of its initiatives, particularly in the 1980's (more than 200,000 persons took to the streets on national demonstration days in 1983 and 1984--10 times more than in 1979--and the

annual 5-minute antiwar strikes in the period 1983-1986 encompassed the country's entire labor union movement), testifies that in this country with 5 million inhabitants potential for protest against the nuclear madness and against the militarist plans of American imperialism has been accumulated. Let us dwell briefly on the structure of this movement and its ideological-political tenets.

The persevering daily work of thousands of people affiliated with these organizations was needed for sympathy with the slogans of the antiwar organizations to become an active political factor. The Danish experience confirms that "permanent potential for mass assertiveness and protest and a thirst for 'participation' are the reason for a feature characteristic of nonparty democratic movements--the capacity, given certain circumstances, for rapid growth and development" (3).

Denmark's contemporary peace movement represents, as it were, an interweaving of two structures. First, more than 30 national organizations, the biggest of which is the Peace and Security Cooperation Committee (4) (the circulation of its newspaper FREDSAVISEN runs to 10,000 copies). Many of them have their own local organizations in various cities of the country. Second, local groups of peace supporters. They are either group members of one or several national organizations or cooperate with the latter occasionally in connection with this campaign or the other. The strongest joint action of Denmark's peace forces was the campaign which began in 1982--"Stop the Nuclear Missiles". Whereas it initially united approximately 100 organizations and groups, by the time of its culmination in 1984 approximately 30 national organizations and 250 local groups were cooperating in its ranks.

The spread of the forces and the abundance of parallel organizations contains both weak and strong aspects: on the one hand the danger of being caught up in ideological-political arguments leading away from the main artery of the struggle, on the other, the possibility of uniting supporters of the most diverse ideas and beliefs within the framework of coincident tasks of the struggle for peace, which Denmark has succeeded in doing, in the main.

This country's peace movement contains--as in those of other West European countries--a whole conglomerate of ideological-philosophical currents, which may provisionally be reduced to two principal schools. Whereas the communists participate only in the first, most populous school, the entire remaining spectrum of participants--from liberals, Christians and social democrats through radical-left forces--is represented both in the first and in the second. Common to the two schools is an endeavor to champion peace by means of a limitation of the arms race and a strengthening of Europe's security, specifically by way of the creation of nuclear-free zones, but there are also serious disagreements between them in their comprehension of the reasons for the exacerbation of the international situation and in the choice of methods and means of preservation of peace.

The first school is characterized by Cooperation Committee organizations, the Trade Union Peace Movement and others, which proceed from realistic political assessments, endeavoring to move to the fore factors capable of uniting the peace movement. The second school is represented primarily by the splittist

antiwar No To Nuclear Weapons (NNW) organization, which was formed in 1980 under the conditions of exacerbation of the internaitonal situation. This organization is characterized by an endeavor to ignore the social roots of the problem, view weapons as evil in the abstract and to make active use of the "equal responsibility of the military-political alliances for international tension" concept. At the center of the polemic between the representatives of these schools is the question of the attitude toward the policy of the USSR (the two are quite close in condemnation of the militarist policy of the U.S. Administration). The supporters of the first school either agree with the consistent policy of the USSR or aspire to contribute to a strengthening of the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

The supporters of the second school are characterized by an endeavor to put pressure on the USSR primarily by means of interference in its internal affairs. Seeking a "change in the political atmosphere in which the nuclear arms race began," the most extremist forces are demanding a revision of the Yalta agreements and such (5). While advocating peace and disarmament and manifestly narrowing the base of the peace movement here they are ideologically and politically objectively in step with the demands of the West's reactionary forces. This duality in the policy of the NNW and certain other organizations is leading to political passiveness and a preoccupation not so much with mass work as with loud, narrowly sectarian carping (6).

In exaggerating the ideological-political disagreements of the participants in the antiwar protest movement the NNW supporters are inevitably pushing into the background the very idea of the struggle for peace. On the eve of mass demonstrations and in the course of the preparation of the world congress devoted to the International Year of Peace (October 1986, Copenhagen) they advanced their claims time and again, attempting to dictate their terms. As far as the Cooperation Committee is concerned, all these years it has been pursuing a flexible policy, not avoiding ideological debate but attempting to direct it into a positive channel. Analyzing and discussing the content of and reasons for the stereotyped ideas concerning the image of the "enemy" and the "military-political blocs," "strategic balance" and "militarism" categories, the Cooperation Committee is conducting a patient dialogue with the NNW supporters on the question of the principle of equal and identical security.

The supporters of the second school are distinguished by a chronic distancing from the Danish communists. Certain liberals, leftists and rightwing social democrats, frequently both supporters and opponents of NATO, what is more, converge in their aspiration to portray the antiwar organizations of the democratic school as obedient tools of the communists. The NNW activists who nonetheless consent to certain contacts with the communists inasmuch as they do not consider it possible to ignore them as an active and influential force in Denmark's peace movement play up the values of decentralization and spontaneity in every way possible and frequently slight the communists on these grounds. Considering primarily the NNW's demarcation from the communists, A. Jorgensen, chairman of the Danish Social Democratic Party, observed that the NNW was closest in spirit to the social democrats (7). Yet in practice many labor union activists of the Social Democratic Party collaborate loyally and positively with the communists within the ranks of the Cooperation Committee and the Trade Union Peace Movement, constituting the

basis of the unitary spirit, which is the strength of the Danish antiwar protest movement. N. Braun, representative of the Christians for Peace organization, which is a part of the Cooperation Committee acknowledged: "No peace organization other than the Cooperation Committee is in a position and prepared to undertake the work on coordinating the activity of several hundred peace groups... be the main organizer of large-scale national demonstrations... print and disseminate heaps of posters, pamphlets and appeals... and publish the FREDSAVISEN newspaper. The Cooperation Committee is rightly the locomotive of the entire movement.... We simply cannot imagine the Danish peace movement without the Cooperation Committee" (8).

Despite the said ideological-political disagreements in the Danish peace movement, the Cooperation Committee had every reason to point out back in 1983 that this movement was one of the strongest in West Europe not only organizationally but also because predominant therein was a policy not of criticism of the USSR and confrontation (which was to a certain extent characteristic of the movement in the Netherlands and Norway) but of a strengthening of peaceful coexistence and renunciation of interference in the socialist countries' internal affairs (9). Priority is given pressure on its "own" parliament and its "own" government, which makes it possible to bring the problems of war and peace closer to the level of everyday thinking of ordinary Danes. Great attention is also paid to global disarmament problems.

A significant amount of work in the day-to-day activity of the peace committees is being performed by activists of the Danish CP, who are endeavoring "not to confine themselves to a circle of ideological sympathizers but to move out into the wide open spaces of the field of the battle for peace" (10). The above-mentioned N. Braun observed that it is no secret that the communists are exerting their influence on the policy of the Cooperation Committee, although are not in a majority in its leadership. In the latter, he emphasizes, there are representatives of six parties and dozens of national organizations and local peace groups, and "none of these people are by any means naive simpletons. Despite the political disagreements, they are upholding a policy of cooperation... in respect of specific matters on which there is unity of opinion. And there are many such matters, incidentally" (11).

Within the Cooperation Committee framework the communists exerted big efforts to avoid an ideological-political impasse and unite the antiwar protest movement around the elaboration of a joint specific action program. This document--"The Danish Peace Policy--14-Point Program" (October 1982)--determined the following four main groups of demands which have to be carried through the Danish Parliament. Concerning Denmark's membership of NATO, it is primarily a question of dissociation from participation in realization of the NATO "Euromissile" deployment decision; concerning the cooperation of the northern countries of Europe, of the preparation of international negotiations apropos the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe; concerning Denmark's participation in the United Nations, of actively promoting a decision on a freezing of nuclear arsenals and the banning of nuclear weapons testing in all spheres; and, finally, concerning domestic policy problems, of a freeze on military spending at the 1982 level, the creation in Denmark of an extragovernmental peace study center and so forth (12).

The main activity of Denmark's unitary peace movement has since the fall of 1982 developed around these demands (only the NNW has remained aloof, joining in joint measures only occasionally). In the course of persevering and multifaceted work it has been possible to have a considerable proportion of these demands carried through the Folketing.

In the quest for the most expedient methods and forms of activity activists of the peace movement are taking stock of the general socio-psychological situation in the country and the degree of knowledgeability of the masses and their involvement in political life.

Back in the 1960's activists of the Danish campaign against nuclear weapons--following the example of the British CND--were publishing scientists' works and explaining to the masses that nuclear catastrophe was a highly possible tragic prospect (13). Relying on accumulated experience, activists of the contemporary Danish peace movement are discovering that for their explanatory work to be sufficiently effective the kind of knowledge which no school, no higher educational institution and no official publications can provide is essential. Whence the importance of the active position of a numerically very strong group of the intelligentsia (doctors, teachers, librarians, architects and others). Within the framework of the unitary peace movement they have in recent years founded their own publishing house and their own professional peace groups, which prepare skilled explanations, handbooks and recommendations for the peace movement. Attention was called back in 1979 to the insufficient knowledgeability not only of the broad masses but also of members of the Folketing with respect to problems of armaments by individual prominent social democrats, who declared that the members had voted in support of NATO's "twin decision" guided merely by intuition (14).

In 1980 the congress of Denmark's biggest union of specialized workers, which has a wealth of traditions of educational work among the working people, appealed to the Folketing for the allocation of resources for the development of research in the sphere of disarmament problems (15). Such a decision was adopted following a difficult parliamentary struggle, and in 1985 a peace research center was opened under the auspices of Copenhagen University whose associates now frequently, as experts, write articles in publications of the peace organizations and address conferences and hearings (16).

Important work in the masses is being performed by schoolteachers, a detachment of the intelligentsia which had until recently remained aloof from political and labor union activity. However, there have been profound changes in teachers' consciousness and the degree of their political assertiveness has increased with the change of generations and as a consequence of the pursuit by the P. Schlueter bourgeois government of a policy of "social revanche" incorporating a cutback in appropriations for the needs of education. Participating in organized fashion in the peace movement, they have now won from the local authorities in a number of Denmark's cities the right to include peace lessons in the school curriculum. Specifically, they are proposing that the students perform independent work: conduct interviews on problems of war and peace with local inhabitants and peace movement activists. After the group discussion of these interviews and the processing of material

that has been collected, the students write essays. Back in 1982 progressive teachers were complaining that, with the exception of the abundance of pro-NATO publications of Denmark's military leadership, the schools lacked teaching and visual aids for classes on these problems. Since then the peace movement has organized the publication of diverse printed material intended for teachers and different student age groups (17).

However, the representatives of reactionary organizations are not twiddling their thumbs. For a number of years Denmark's Atlantists have been attempting to create their "counterweight" to the peace movement. The On Guard of Denmark organization, which incorporates representatives of the country's most prosperous circles, commentators and public figures, and also the Young Conservatives organization are among the most zealous champions of the cold war. Parties of the right, specifically the Center Democrats, have at times managed to intimidate the man in the street and some of the politically inexperienced youth with the bugaboo of anticommunism and even derive electoral benefits from this. If, however, it is considered that influential forces from Social Democratic Party are often at one with them and that the majority of Danish newspapers adhere to positions of Atlantism, the mass nature of many demonstrations should be considered an undoubted success of the peace forces.

At the same time the task of persuading the masses of the reality of the nuclear threat (18) and urging each Dane to make the maximum contribution to its removal remains. The socio-psychological consequences of the "neoconservative wave" and the protracted economic crisis are impeding this.

Despair and hopelessness have sunk deep roots in the consciousness of the masses, primarily the youth. With regard for this fact the Danish Communist Youth Union, as one of the country's biggest youth political organizations, is performing a great deal of work within the framework of the antiwar protest movement (19). It was among the initiators of the creation of local Youth for Peace groups, which have played an important part in the politicization of Danish youth. Back in the 1960's many trainees and students took part in the struggle against nuclear weapons. A new feature is the growth of the numbers of protesting youth and the creation in the general channel of the peace movement of the Youth for Peace organization (20). A big impression on many young Danes was made by a group of the country's leading sports figures joining the ranks of the antiwar protest movement.

While paying considerable attention to educational work, most diverse organizations within Denmark's unitary peace movement at the same time evaluate positively the role of mass demonstrations for there is no doubt as to the benefit both from multifaceted activity at the stage of their preparation and from the emotional effect and political impact of them on the broad masses (only individual NNW figures began in the mid-1980's to call for a winding down of mass demonstrations, pointing to the existence of ideological disagreements, which "it is inexpedient to demonstrate openly," and believing that "putting arguments to politicians is more effective than marching about the streets with placards").

Peace movement activists, however, are making effective use of the rich arsenal of actions, both "old" and "new". For example, even the traditional form of the collection of signatures to a petition is used as an opportunity for discussion and agitation. In the event of these petitions being published in the newspapers, everyone who has signed them participates in payment for the cost of the publication. It was with a collection of signatures to a petition that the Women for Peace organization began its work on enlisting them in antiwar activity. Following the example of the heroic British women from Greenham Common, for the first time in their country Danish women set up in 1984 a similar tent peace camp around the NATO command post in the locality of Ravnstrup near Viborg. Popularization of the slogan of the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe contributed to extensive support for the Manchester initiative declaring districts, cities, streets and public buildings a "nuclear-free zone".

A new form of work was the 1983 "referendum" conducted by activists of local groups of peace fighters on the question of Danes' attitude toward the deployment of the American missiles in Europe. They managed to poll 14,000 Danes, of whom 77 percent were opposed (it is indicative that among the supporters of the Social Democratic Party--the party which signed the NATO "twin decision"--90 percent had a negative attitude toward "deployment") (21). The results of the "referendum" and also a poll conducted in 1981 which showed a mass reluctance to abide by NATO's demands for an increase in Denmark's military appropriations (22) are very remarkable if one considers the prevailing opinion in the country that it is precisely this military organization which could serve as an instrument for a strengthening of European security (23).

There have been appreciable changes in Danes' mood in the time of development of the contemporary antiwar protest movement. These changes, J. Jensen wrote, testify to "the large-scale evolution, diverse in form, of the mass social consciousness. An evolution so profound that it is evidently capable of encompassing a far broader spectrum of social and ideological issues. Working people see increasingly clearly the direct connection between militarist policy on the one hand and the economic and political foundations of the bourgeois state on the other" (24).

A particular feature of the current peace movement in Denmark is the arrival of a significant proportion of the labor unions at active positions, which occurred earlier than in Italy, the FRG and Norway (25), and also the positive changes which have been discerned in the policy line of the Social Democratic Party--the country's biggest.

Merely the fact that the Danish workers movement is one of the most organized in the capitalist world is no guarantee of its active role in the struggle for peace for the motives for joining unions usually have among the working people primarily an "economist" trade-unionist coloration. Further, the country's union movement is heterogeneous and in the hands of moderate social reformists, who traditionally have not been disposed to involve themselves in problems which go beyond the limits of purely trade union work. And the fact that it has been possible in the 1980's to raise individual sectoral unions to the level of participation in the political struggle, the peace struggle

included, is explicable not least by the mobilizing capacity of the communists in a number of Danish unions (of both skilled and unskilled workers). We would note that even prior to the mass upsurge of the contemporary peace movement a Copenhagen branch of the Specialized Workers Union (SID), the Excavator and Road-Repair Worker Local, was participating actively in the campaign against nuclear weapons and against Denmark's membership of NATO.

In publications devoted to an analysis of the working class' participation in the antiwar struggle many authors frequently establish merely in general outline the growing role of the unions. For an understanding of the complexity and contradictoriness of this process it would seem essential, speaking of Danish unions' participation in this struggle, to employ a differentiated approach and distinguish at least three levels of the union hierarchy: "lower" (individual enterprise committees), "middle" (municipal union councils and municipal sectoral union committees) and "upper" (leadership of the Danish Central Trade Union Association [DCTUA] and the national leadership of the sectoral unions).

Right up until 1983 the unions' participation in the peace struggle was concentrated at the local level (the exception was the leadership of the SID and the Printing Workers Union). Many of the "lower" activists primordially combined agitation-propaganda work in the localities with the development of international cooperation. This applies to an initiative of SID activists of Aalborg, who in May 1981 conducted an international conference on questions of a nuclear-free North (not supported by DCTUA leaders) and subsequently established close contacts with unions of the USSR and the United States. National conferences of union activists of the peace movement and special seminars and conferences for young unemployed persons to promote their participation in the struggle for peace were held in 1981 and 1982 thanks to "local" resources. The Copenhagen Trade Union Peace Movement organization was founded in the fall of 1982 at the "lower" level. It carried on the tradition of antiwar meetings of union activists of Denmark, the USSR and the United States and was an organizer of the mass antimissile demonstrations in Copenhagen in the fall of 1983, 1984 and 1985.

The extent of the unions' "local" peace activity exerted a gradual influence on the "upper stories of the edifice" of the unions, and their leaders had to move away from traditional, purely trade-unionist activity. As a result councils of unions of Copenhagen and a number of other cities supported for the first time the mass demonstrations of 1983 and 1984. Longest in passive positions has been the leadership of a number of unions of skilled workers, specifically the powerful Metalworkers Union, which on certain political issues stands farthest from the policy of the unions' forces of the left. Back in 1977 its leaders were actively seeking the development of military production in the country ("for tackling the unemployment problem") (26). Subsequently, in the ranks of the most moderate representatives of the DCTUA and the Social Democratic Party, they endeavored to ignore the demands of such subdivisions of this union as the Copenhagen Electricians, Auto Mechanics and Shipbuilders Local, which supported "the peace movement, which represents," one resolution observed, "a truly nationwide movement" (27).

The SID, which has presented a number of independent initiatives, has participated very actively in the antiwar protest movement in the 1980's. At an enlarged session of its leadership in 1981, which invited well-known leaders of the international and Danish workers movement, specially devoted to problems of disarmament the prominent social democrat H. Hansen, chairman of the SID, formulated the idea which subsequently became the leitmotiv of unions' participation in the peace struggle: "What is the point of success in the social struggle if we lose the struggle for peace?" The session decreed the allocation of 500,000 kroner for educational work on the theme of the conference (28). This position echoed the sentiments of the rank and file of the said union. For example, in September 1984 Copenhagen's longshoremen, who are a part thereof, refused to unload ships which had arrived with military equipment for participation in NATO maneuvers. Toward the end of 1984 the same union adopted for the first time in the history of the Danish union movement a Peace Program, which organically interweaves the themes of the struggle for peace and international worker solidarity and also formulates the demand that the DCTUA be more active in support of the antiwar struggle of the working class (29).

At first the leaders of the DCTUA withheld support for an active struggle for peace. However, in 1983, 1984 and 1986 they deemed it necessary to support the international initiative concerning a 5-minute general antiwar strike, in which practically all the country's working people, including civil servants, participated.

In the fall of 1982 the Trade Union Peace Movement organization was founded by Copenhagen's leftwing union activists for antiwar agitation among the working people. Only after it had successfully conducted a number of international trade union conferences and become a national organization, within whose framework leftwing social democrats and communists are cooperating, was there a resurgence of the activity of the Danish International Workers Movement Center (AIS), which had been created in 1981 with the support of the leaders of the Social Democratic Party and the DCTUA. Its goals: proceeding from the principles of "democratic socialism," to propagandize the ideas of antimilitarism and the international solidarity of the working people and also render the workers of the developing countries material support. Based on both the individual and group membership of a number of unions, this organization's activity in the first few years was imperceptible. However, in 1984-1985, with the increased involvement of the working people in the peace movement, the AIS consented in a number of instances to cooperation, specifically with the Trade Union Peace Movement, in the organization of demonstrations and conferences. In May 1986 they conducted an international trade union seminar against the militarization of space, in which an AUCCTU delegation participated. In the fall of 1986 the AIS sent to the USSR for the first time a group of 120 activists for familiarization with antiwar work in Soviet labor outfits.

The resurgence of the antiwar activity of the unions of Denmark (which is characteristic not only of activist workers but some of its leaders also) is particularly noteworthy considering that even in the Scandinavian region Danish union leaders do not, as a rule, occupy active leftwing positions. Considering the organic unity of the union movement and the Social Democratic Party (ideological, political and organizational), there is every reason to

speak of the direct influence of the unions' peace activity on the evolution of the views of the Social Democratic Party leadership in the 1980's.

Since Denmark joined NATO in 1949 under the H. Hedtoft social democratic government, breaking with neutrality status, the Social Democratic Party has unreservedly recognized membership of this aggressive military-political bloc as a principle of its foreign and defense policy. Taking into account the demands of NATO and the Pentagon, the Social Democratic Party, both in opposition and in office, has in conjunction with the major bourgeois parties all this time adhered to the principles of "national unity" in the defense sphere. At the same time it was under social democratic governments that basic principles of the country's defense policy were formulated: a refusal to make bases available in peace time to foreign armed forces and to deploy nuclear weapons in the country.

There have been increased attempts at a distorted interpretation of the said principles under the conditions of the current exacerbation of the international situation. Kept secret from parliament, in 1976 the Danish military command concluded an agreement with the United States providing for the transfer of American "reinforcements" to Denmark "at the early stage of a crisis situation". When, in 1979, the Danish CP proposed in parliament a draft resolution against the deployment of foreign troops and nuclear weapons in peace time, the Social Democratic Party rejected it (30). Following NATO policy, the Jorgensen social democratic government ignored the peace forces' protests against the increase in military spending and also the demands for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe.

In response to this policy the Social Democrats Against Nuclear Weapons and Militarism (SAM) intraparty group was founded in 1981. In different times its appearance would have evoked sharp retaliatory measures on the part of the leadership (as was the case in 1966 at the time of the attempt to create a discussion club in the Social Democratic Party on domestic policy issues). However, following the crisis in the party at the start of the 1970's in connection with the formulation of its policy on the question of Denmark's membership of the EEC and also considering the mass scale of the antiwar protest, the Social Democratic Party leadership deemed it expedient to reconcile itself now to the appearance of an intraparty opposition (31). Operating within the framework of the above-mentioned AIS as a group member, the SAM group represents the most radical, antimilitarist current among Danish social democrats.

The resignation of the Jorgensen social democratic government in the fall of 1982 was brought about directly by domestic policy problems. At the same time the growing criticism of its military-political orientation on the part of the mass peace movement threatened to undermine the Social Democratic Party's reputation, which had been thoroughly battered in the years of economic crisis. It is no accident that it is in the sphere of foreign policy that the most pronounced changes have occurred in the policy of the Social Democratic Party in the 1980's (32). Following the resignation of the Jorgensen

government and the adoption by Norwegian social democracy (the Norwegian Labor Party) of a declaration condemning further financing of the plan for the deployment of the American "Euromissiles," the Social Democratic Party parliamentary faction adopted a similar decision.

On 17 December 1982 the Danish Folketing approved by the votes of the Social Democratic Party, the Radical Liberal Party and the two left socialist parties a resolution on a freezing of new contributions by Denmark for the financing of the "Euromissiles" program. Altogether the said four opposition parties, with a larger number of seats than the parties on which the P. Schlueter bourgeois government is based, constituted an "antimissile majority," which subsequently repeatedly made its presence felt.

In January 1983 the Norwegian Labor Party opposed the entire program of "Euromissile" deployment altogether (the decision was approved by the Scandilux consultative group, which is made up of social democrats of a number of small West European countries). In the wake of this the Social Democratic Party leadership issued its own wide-ranging platform in the sphere of security policy. This document stipulated, specifically, that the Social Democratic Party would struggle for a freeze on all existing nuclear arsenals and call on the United States to respond positively to the USSR's peace initiatives (33). In the subsequent period the Social Democratic Party correlated its parliamentary initiatives with this platform to a considerable extent. In the course of 1983 the votes of the "antimissile majority" made it incumbent upon the P. Schlueter pro-NATO government to seek deferment of the deployment of the "Euromissiles," actively work against attempts to deploy nuclear weapons in Denmark in connection with the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe and also dissociate itself at the NATO Council session from the "Euromissile" deployment which had begun.

In 1984 the Folketing once again supported the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe and obliged the government to support the implementation of confidence-building measures between East and West, a ban on the deployment of nuclear weapons in space, no first use of nuclear weapons and so forth (35). All these resolutions, the Danish communists observed, echoed the principal slogans of the peace movement and afforded the antiwar movement new opportunities, putting pressure on the government (36). In accordance with the said resolutions, the Schlueter government was obliged to actively support realization of the Soviet proposal concerning no first use of nuclear weapons. In 1985 the Folketing adopted by the votes of the "antimissile majority" parties new resolutions against support for the SDI program and in 1986 condemned the United States' refusal to negotiate a ban on nuclear testing. With the strengthening in the Social Democratic Party of the orientation toward the preparation of a nuclear-free zone in North Europe treaty there has come to be increasingly active talk in the party ranks of the need for a revision of the 1976 "Reinforcements" Agreement since it provides for the deployment in Denmark of offensive, nuclear weapons (37).

Of course, the Social Democratic Party leaders' growing recognition of their duty to display responsibility for the fate of peace and make the maximum contribution to the struggle for disarmament has brought about attacks on the part of the leading bourgeois parties, who have seen this as damaging the

"national unity" concept. For imparting "persuasiveness" to their criticism and insulting attacks on social democracy they have employed, inter alia, a well-known misquotation attributed to Lenin ("useful idiots"), in which he allegedly disparagingly spoke of pacifists cooperating with the communists (38). The variety of pressure from the right is naturally exerting an influence on the party's moderate forces, which are inclined at times to impede its advancement of new initiatives. Although the differentiation of forces in the Social Democratic Party on this question has not assumed the form of open confrontation, there are, nonetheless, a minimum of two lines: first, that of the supporters of a combination offidelity to NATO and consideration of a number of the demands of Denmark's peace-loving public and also of the positive changes in the foreign policy orientation of the Socialist International and the position of the Scandilux international consultative group and, second, of the preservation of unquestioning loyalty in respect of the aims of the NATO leaders and "national unity" on military-political issues (39). Thanks to the predominant influence of supporters of the first line in the time that the Social Democratic Party has been in opposition, a divide between it and the Schlueter bourgeois government has been discerned in the military-political sphere.

The movement of Denmark's peace-loving public has succeeded in advancing in the 1980's, having exerted considerable influence on the mass consciousness, on the policy of the biggest party--the Social Democratic Party--and, finally, directly on the country's foreign policy, which it has not been possible to accomplish as efficiently in other West European countries. Important potential of antimilitarist and social protest has been created in the course of the mutual penetration of the worker and democratic movements and the combination of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary forms of action.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. PRAVDA, 6 March 1986.
2. See "'Det fredssyge Danmark...'. 100 ars dansk fredsarbejde," Copenhagen, 1982, pp 5-27.
3. "Present-Day Capitalism: Political Relations and Institutions of Power," Moscow, 1984, p 105.
4. The Cooperation Committee was set up in 1974. The basis thereof was the Danish delegation at the World Congress of Peace-Loving Forces in Moscow (1973), which included represented of various parties, labor unions and pacifist groups.
5. See "Fredsarbejde--Hvor star vi idag?" Copenhagen, 1984, pp 31-33.
6. See INFORMATION, 1 June 1984.
7. See NY POLITIK No 5, 1984, p 6.
8. LAND OG FOLK, 20 May 1986.

9. See "Dansk fredsbevaegelses vej," Copenhagen, 1983, p 25.
10. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 11, 1981, p 21.
11. LAND OG FOLK, 20 May 1986.
12. See "En dansk fredspolitik-et 14 punkts program," Copenhagen, 1982, pp 1-4.
13. See K. Jorgensen, "Atomvabnenes rolle i dansk politik," Odense, 1973, p 10.
14. The Danish Government deemed it necessary to take account of this criticism and a year later it set up under its aegis a commission of experts in the sphere of security and disarmament policy.
15. See "Fagbevaegelsen og indsatsen for freden. LO-tema," Copenhagen, 1983, p 12.
16. See FREDSAVISEN No 10, 1984, pp 3, 131.
17. Among the aids for teachers and the antiwar literature for students we would point to the following titles in Danish: V. Borgor, "How To Portray and Play Peace," Odense, 1981; "Teaching Peace," Copenhagen, 1984; "Peace Lessons--Psychology and Pedagogics in Antiwar Work," Copenhagen, 1984. See also MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN No 2, 1984.
18. In 1980 some 58 percent of Danes polled considered nuclear war a real threat, but in 1984, 25 percent, POLITIKEN, 19 May 1980; LAND OG FOLK, 16 February 1984.
19. See "Ungdommens kamp og kommunisterne," Copenhagen, 1983, p 68.
20. The NNW supporters which are a part of this organization agreed to the formulation of a joint platform, with Communist Youth Union members included.
21. See RAKET TIDENDE No 5, 1983, p 8.
22. See LAND OG FOLK, 4 July 1981.
23. Some 55-60 percent of Danes polled by the Gallup Institute regularly support Denmark's continued membership of NATO from these standpoints, "Veje til fred," Copenhagen, 1985, p 225.
24. PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 11, 1981, p 22.
25. See RK I SM No 6, 1984 and PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 4, 1983.
26. See INFORMATION, 19 April 1977.

27. METAL 13 No 6, 1984, p 4.
28. See Fagbevaegelsen og indsatsen..., pp 8-9.
29. FAGBLADET No 15, 1984, pp 12-14.
30. See POLITIKEN, 17 April 1979.
31. For more detail on the centers of leftwing antimilitarist criticism in the Social Democratic Party see A.-W. Karlsen, "Differenzierungen innerhalb der Sozialdemokratischen Partei Daenemarks bei aussenpolitischen Fragen," "Nordeuropa," Studien-17, 1984, Sonderreihe, Greifswald, pp 51-67.
32. For more detail see L. Budts, "Developing Dialogue, Strengthening Trust," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 1, 1986, pp 69-72.
33. See WEEKENDAVISEN BERLINGSKE AFTEN, 7 February 1983.
34. See "Danmarks sikkerhedspolitiske situation," Copenhagen, 1984, pp 141-143.
35. See ibid., pp 144-146.
36. See LAND OG FOLK, 4 May 1984.
37. See "Forsvar--det bedste forsvar," Copenhagen, 1986, pp 79-80; SOCIALISTIK WEEKEND, 18 April 1986.
38. See AKTUELTT, 8 May 1986.
39. See INFORMATION, 22 April 1985.

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## **REASONS AGAINST SHIFTING MILITARY PRODUCTION TO CIVIL REBUTTED**

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 136-145

[Article by V.V. Potapov: "Important Direction of the Class Struggle"]

[Text] In the postwar years the urgency of the conversion\* of military production has grown in line with the increase in the exceptionally pernicious impact which the imperialist arms race is having on peace and the security of the peoples and states' economic and social life. The struggle for conversion is an important part of the general struggle for disarmament. Both the theoretical modeling of the process of the partial or complete demilitarization of the capitalist economy and the practical activity of progressive political and social organizations of the West, primarily the unions advocating a switching of government spending from military to civilian purposes, represent in aggregate the elaboration of an economic mechanism of disarmament and the specific plans and methods in accordance with which and by means of which it will be accomplished.

The basis of this survey is material of a seminar held in 1984 in Brussels organized by the European Trade Union Movement Institute which was devoted to the subject "Disarmament and the Restructuring of Military Industry for Peaceful Production. Survey of the Possibilities and Experience of West European Countries". Representatives of trade unions of Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, the FRG, Finland, France, Sweden and Switzerland (24 persons) and also 11 representatives of international trade union organizations of West Europe participated.

The current exacerbation of the general crisis of capitalism, the rapid growth of the militarization of the economy of the imperialist states and the strengthening of reactionary trends in the domestic and foreign policy of their ruling circles impart special importance to such attempts to collate the existing international experience of the conversion of military production and determine the main directions of the scientific elaboration of this problem. For this reason the conclusions drawn by the participants in the seminar retain their significance today also.

The experience of postwar reconversion showed how, on what scale and in what length of time it is possible to switch enterprises from military to peaceful production. The experience is unique, the scale, majestic, and the time, amazingly short.

The continuation and expansion of the scale of the arms race in peacetime, the formation of military-industrial complexes and the conversion of militarization into a principal feature of the postwar development of the capitalist economy have led to conversion having grown into a problem of considerable importance of state-monopoly regulation at the current stage. Western literature of the most diverse persuasions quite often discusses the problems confronting economic regions or individual firms in connection with the closure or opening of enterprises of military industry and the restructuring and liquidation of military bases and facilities.

An analysis of state-monopoly regulation of the war economy confirmed the conclusions of the supporters of conversion concerning the practical possibility thereof and made it possible to elaborate plans based on accurate data of actual reality, highlight the key problems and ascertain the main obstacles in the way of a restructuring of the defense industry.

A transition to a synthesis of developments emerged in the latter half of the 1970's, and there was an understanding of the fact that in the contemporary international situation, under the conditions of the ramified giant system of state-monopoly capitalism, conversion could not be a simple act of the shifting of resources from one sector of the economy to another but represented a complex process of restructuring of the capitalist economy. However, it is not a question of its social transformation, as the apologists of militarism frequently portray this alternative, but only of a nonmilitary version of capitalism using its productive forces and financial resources for creative purposes.

Study of the models and plans of conversion advanced by representatives of various social groups (from members of governments through the progressive scientific community and the unions) of the United States, Great Britain, France, the FRG, Italy and other Western countries permitted the following conclusions.

At the center of the bitter arguments between the devotees of the arms race and the supporters of the conversion of military production are five propositions of militarist apologetics.

1. The arms race contributes to economic prosperity and spares the capitalist states crises of overproduction. For this reason it is profitable to the entire population of these countries.
2. The arms race provides employment and high wages for the workers of military industry and the civilian sectors connected therewith. Therefore it is profitable to the working people of capitalist countries.
3. The conversion of military production would lead to grave consequences for the economy since there would be a halt brought to many military plants,

the closure of military bases and the cancellation of military orders, which perform an important role in the normal functioning of the capitalist economy.

4. The arms race stimulates S&T progress since it leads to a significant expansion of R&D. For this reason it is profitable to research workers and the intelligentsia.

5. Conversion would cause a considerable increase in unemployment inasmuch as it would be difficult for the people forced to leave the armed forces and defense industry to acquire new qualifications and find work.

The supporters of conversion reject these propositions, adducing substantial arguments in its support. Does the arms race really contribute to nations' economic prosperity? In the event of a significant and rapid growth of military production there could be a certain upturn in the overall level of production in the country, but it is well known also that arms production is a waste of productive forces inasmuch as arms perform no useful functions for the national economy and that the material and labor expended thereon disappear from the reproduction process to a considerable extent, which ultimately weakens the economy. An upturn artificially brought about by means of an arms race does not create a base for stable economic development. It is of a temporary nature, as a rule, and ultimately leads merely to an exacerbation of economic difficulties--a growth of taxes, inflation and unemployment and reduced effective demand. Military production cannot be expanded infinitely at the expense of peaceful production. Sooner or later there has to be recession, after which, of course, a new wave of militarization is possible.

Does the arms race really provide for the permanent employment of the working people in military industry and the sectors connected with it? Is it true that conversion will cause a growth of unemployment? Numerous studies prove convincingly that the possibilities of the creation of jobs in military industry are considerably fewer than in civilian industry. Consequently, the employment of the military sector exists and is growing at the expense of an increase in the proportion of the unemployed in the capitalist countries, and the high wage rates in military industry are possible merely thanks to a redistribution of income via the budget. In addition, the majority of jobs created by the military sector cannot be filled by the working people among whom unemployment is particularly high--workers of mining, metallurgical, automobile, textile and other sectors of industry and people working in services. A considerable proportion of the jobs in military industry falls to highly skilled workers, among whom the level of unemployment is below the average as it is. The negative impact of the development of military production on employment is also manifested in the fact that, contrary to the claims of the apologists for militarism, military industry does not guarantee high and stable employment because it is characterized by strong fluctuations of the production capacity load connected with the noncontinuity of the granting of orders, the existence of intervals between the fulfillment of arms production programs and the periodicity of the replacement of fixed capital and the end product of military industry, which, in turn, leads to considerable fluctuations in employment.

Of course, the conversion of military production would require the reequipment of the shops which manufacture products lacking civilian analogies. Considerable relocations of manpower and the retraining of part of the personnel would be necessary also. But all the said phenomena are being observed even now--at operating military plants. Some orders are being replaced by others, workers are being dismissed from some military plants, at others, on the contrary, the workforce is strengthening and so forth. Conversion is a lengthy and gradual process which is planned in advance and which does not therefore damage the economy.

The question as to whether there will not be a decline as a result of conversion in the overall demand for manpower in the country should also be answered in the negative. After all, the resources now spent on arms will not vanish but will be spent for peaceful purposes. For this reason the overall demand for commodities and the manpower essential for their production not only will not diminish but will in time grow inasmuch as better conditions for the development of the economy will have been created. The state, which has in the postwar years elaborated a considerable number of measures for regulating employment, should play a most important part in the solution of the employment problem in the conversion process.

Is it true that the arms race stimulates S&T progress? There is no doubt that it is connected with the intensive development of increasingly efficient means of destruction and annihilation. S&T progress in the civilian sectors frequently means a byproduct thereof or obsolete samples and models. But asserting that this is the best S&T policy is the same as proving that the best method of operating an automobile is harnessing a horse to it. Military research is expanding at the expense of the diversion of scientific forces and material resources from the sphere of peaceful research. E. Teller, the "spiritual father" of Reagan's strategic defense initiative, claims that 90 percent of the results of this project could be used for civilian purposes. Practice has shown that approximately only 20 percent of military developments subsequently prove useful for the civilian sphere (1).

Will conversion bring about a sharp deterioration in economic conditions in the capitalist countries? This may be answered in brief: the reconversion conducted after world wars I and II did not lead to economic collapse, despite the fact that the reduction in the armed forces and the scale of the reconversion were far-reaching. Problems would undoubtedly arise. Of what kind will be shown below.

The concluding report of the seminar (2) says: the opinion that military spending has a positive economic effect is based solely on the fact that it is a permanent major item of the budget, although in reality these resources could be used with greater results in other spheres of activity more necessary to society. From the viewpoint of economic development the most intelligent thing would be a reduction in military spending and the channeling of the resources thus released into alternative types of production.

Militarization and employment. A question which it is important to elucidate, "The Report" says, is that of whether military spending is a guarantee of a high level of employment. After all, in West Europe several million working

people depend directly or indirectly on military industry (Table 1). Approximately 50 million persons in the world are employed in the military sphere, of these, almost 50 percent directly in the armed forces, 10 percent or 5 million persons in military industry and 1 percent or 500,000 persons in military R&D. In West European countries the numbers of research and engineering-technical assistants and personnel employed in military production and military R&D constitute 2.8 million (3).

Table 1. Employment in the Military Sector of West European Countries in 1980 (Millions)

	Armed forces servicemen and civilian employees	Military industry	Military industry subcontractors	Total (-)
Great Britain	0.54	0.4	0.35	1.3
France	0.67	0.3	0.2	1.2
FRG	0.68	0.2	0.1	1
Italy	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.7
Other countries	0.8	0.12	0.08	1
Total	3.19	1.12	0.83	5.2

Source: "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien auf Friedensproduktionen. Eine Uebersicht der Moeglichkeiten und Erfahrungen in Westeuropa," Hrsg. Koepke G., Brussels, EGI, 1984, p 20.

In Great Britain from 400,000 to 600,000 persons are employed in military industry, of whom 225,000 are working on government orders. A further 300,000 workers approximately at subcontractor enterprises depend on military production. In order to have a clear idea of the diversion of human resources from peaceful labor in this country 323,000 servicemen and 220,000 persons working in the ramified Ministry of Defence system should be added (4).

In France approximately 300,000 persons are employed directly in military industry, of whom almost 200,000 are employed at state-owned enterprises, 100,000 at private enterprises (5).

In the FRG 200,000-250,000 persons (this figure fluctuates from 150,000 to 400,000) work at military industry plants. Almost 700,000 persons serve in the Bundeswehr (6).

The figures concerning the numbers of workers in Italy's military industry are highly contradictory--from 80,000 to 300,000. In the opinion of the authors of "The Report," the figure most corresponding to reality is 100,000 (7).

Precisely the same difficulties arise when calculating this indicator for Spain. Here the numbers of those employed directly in military production constitute approximately 30,000 (8).

In the "small" European countries the number of persons employed in military industry amounts to 25,000 in the Netherlands, 18,000 in Belgium, 20,000 in Switzerland and 32,000 in Sweden and approximately 10,000 in the other countries of North Europe (9).

The central question is, as "The Report" points out: what will become of these workers if military spending is reduced?

In no sector of industry and services do investments create as few jobs as in the military sector. According to estimates, in 1981 \$1 billion permitted the creation in the United States of 29,402 jobs in strategic missile production. The same amount spent on civilian needs would have permitted the creation of 30,899 jobs in housing construction, 31,829 in railroad transport, 38,192 in R&D in solar energy use, 38,650 in government establishments and 45,397 in public transport (10). According to other calculations, the discrepancy in the capacity for creating jobs between the military and civilian sectors of the economy is considerably wider. They point out that an investment of \$1 billion in military industry permits the creation of 76,000 jobs, but the investment of this same amount in the health service would create 104,000 (11). The existence of this discrepancy is explained by the fact that under the conditions of the growth of science- and technology-intensive new arms systems there is an increase in the cost of a job. This can be shown in the example of the plan for the production of the MX missile in the United States. Expenditure on its realization over a period of 8 years is to amount to \$30-70 billion, given the employment of 38,000 persons. Even if the inflation factor is not taken into account, the price of a job constitutes \$100,000-230,000. And approximately 50 percent of the jobs, what is more, are earmarked for highly skilled engineers and workers, and this means that for the categories of working people among whom unemployment is particularly high--the youth workers of average and low skills--the way to the military enterprises is closed (12).

Similar calculations are adduced in respect of the FRG also. According to estimates, DM1 billion of government spending on arms creates 18,000 jobs, whereas in other sectors this same amount of expenditure would permit the creation of 19,000 in municipal services, over 20,000 in the public health service and over 21,000 in transport and in construction (13). In the opinion of associates of the German Economic Research Institute, these figures are understated, and according to their calculations, DM1 billion of outlays in the civilian sphere permits the creation of 30 percent more jobs than in the military sphere (14).

Although many workers believe that military production stabilizes the situation on the labor market, this is not in fact so, the participants in the worker meeting "Jobs Through Arms?" held in Darmstadt (FRG) in 1984 point out. Attempts are being made to impress upon the working class the idea of the need for a further buildup of arms production, concealing it with arguments about "insured" jobs in the military sector. How much they are insured in reality is indicated, for example, by the data pertaining to Great Britain: in the period 1963-1978 some 250,000 jobs were done away with in military industry. According to forecasts, considering the paramilitary sectors (that is, civilian sectors carrying out military orders), a further 200,000 jobs will have been lost up to 1987 (16).

Militarization and S&T progress. The next important question studied in "The Report" is the analysis of the consequences of the militarization of S&T

progress. Thus in the United States and Great Britain, it says, more than 50 percent of all government spending on R&D goes on military R&D. In France one-third of resources is spent to the same end, in the FRG 10 percent and in Japan little more than 2 percent (17).

It has to be acknowledged, the authors of "The Report" write, that spending on defense was an important factor of acceleration of the time taken to build and assimilate computers, electronic and microelectronic equipment and so forth. The original expenditure on R&D and the assimilation of new technology thanks to the budget considerably reduced production costs in other sectors at the time of the spread of this technology. Something else has to be acknowledged also: that the direction and structure of current R&D do not correspond to the long-term socioeconomic aims of society. Many of the directions of R&D in the developed capitalist countries are determined primarily by military interests. Thus, for example, the development of equipment for obtaining fast neutrons corresponded only to the interests of arms production. The peaceful use of nuclear fission required a different orientation of research.

Expenditure on R&D in the military sector directly influences economic growth, prove of which is the high rate of development of the FRG and Japan--the two countries with the least proportion of military R&D in the overall volume of R&D. Of course, there is no direct dependence here, but the allocation of large resources for civilian R&D nonetheless affords the best prospects for economic growth. But the expenditure of large resources on military research is nothing other than their diversion from the sphere of the civilian economy and a slowing of the rate of technical and economic development (18).

Militarization of the economy and the state's social policy. It is becoming increasingly clear, a participant in the meeting, H. Wulf, the West German economist, writes, that military spending is growing at the expense of a cutback in social programs. Analyzing the policy of the Bonn government in the period 1979-1982, he shows that the unprecedented increase in military spending was covered primarily by way of a reduction in expenditure in respect of such budget items as "Transport," "Labor and Social Order" and "Research and Development". Expenditure on the purchase of arms alone in 1982 had increased 42 percent compared with 1979. In this same period expenditure per the "Labor and Social Order" item increased only 16 percent, "Education and Science" 7 percent and "Youth, the Family and Health Care" 3 percent (19).

Table 2 gives us an idea of the negative influence of the growth of military spending on Great Britain's socioeconomic development.

Table 2. Expenditure on Military and Social Needs in Great Britain in 1982-1983

Year's expenditure by item	Pounds sterling, millions
Budget expenditure on defense 1982-1983	14,091
including:	
maintenance of regular army personnel	5,331
military R&D	1,833
maintenance of flotilla of Polaris submarines	327
Air Force purchases	2,235

<b>Programs*</b>	
Harrier fighter	900
Upgrading of combat tanks	450
National Health Service	11,663
including:	
child health care	3,703
Medical Research Council	107
subsidies to invalids	205
supplementary benefits	1,578
Electrification of British Rail	825
Motorway construction program	350

**Individual items of expenditure**

Class-42 destroyer	180
"Hunt"-class trawler	35
Model-92 radar installation	10
Vertical takeoff Harrier fighter	6
Lynx-class helicopter	2.7
London outer circular	67.9
District hospital	22.9
600 new apartments	9.9
Local telephone system	5.6
One school	1.4

**Individual items of expenditure (pounds sterling)**

One general, upkeep	34,000
Milan antitank missile	7,000
TOW antitank helicopter-fired missile	2,000
Pay of six nurses	30,000
"Artificial kidney" machine	5,500
Artificial hip joint	1,200

\* In September 1981 prices.

Source: "Abraestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 17.

As a whole, the possibility of a structural reorganization of the military sector, the authors of "The Report" believe, is determined by five features thereof:

the high regional concentration of production;

the profound specialization of the firms of the military sector;

the high qualifications of the manpower employed therein;

dependence on exports to certain countries;

degree of direct influence of the state on production.

The participants in the seminar considered the most important of them the degree of specialization of production and the level of state participation (20).

In all countries, aside from Japan, military industry is to a considerable extent concentrated in several areas. This leads to the great dependence of the latter on the military enterprises located on their territory. The closure of military bases, enterprises, S&T research centers and laboratories would entail appreciable changes throughout the economic life of these areas.

The sectoral structure need expect no less serious consequences. As is known, the degree of specialization of military firms is high. Thus in the aerospace industry of the leading developed capitalist countries 40-80 percent of capacity and manpower is employed in military production, and in electronics industry this proportion constitutes 20-30 percent. Obviously such specialization would cause many problems in the event of a restructuring, but the state would help mitigate its negative effect to a considerable extent inasmuch as the majority of military firms depends on its orders (21).

Manpower employed in the military sector is also characterized by a whole number of specific features, primarily the great concentration of highly skilled personnel, engineers and scientists. Inasmuch as all these skilled workers are connected with equipment and technology which may be used for the production of civilian products, this fact needs to be taken into consideration at the time of the compilation of plans for conversion together with measures pertaining to the retraining of the workers.

It also needs to be considered that in some countries persons employed in the military sector have to a considerable extent guaranteed jobs at enterprises of the state sector, as in France, for example. But in the majority of countries the picture is different: the degree of dependence of jobs on a small number of large-scale projects is high, which leads to a narrowing of the product list of production and, consequently, to the diminished guaranteed nature of the jobs.

The authors of "The Report" believe that although military production is concentrated in a small number of sectors, there are many technical opportunities for its conversion. Shipbuilding, for example, could instead of warships produce a minimum of 21 classes of civilian product, but conversion in shipbuilding is made difficult by the deterioration in demand for it. However, many types of alternative product are incorporated in official development programs (aid to developing countries, energy supply, development of the infrastructure and so forth). This would facilitate realization of the conversion measures, but simultaneously enhance the role of the state, which would implement a policy of a redistribution of resources from the military to the civilian sector and also compel private firms to develop the diversification of production (22).

The greatest difficulties in realization of workers' initiatives, the authors of "The Report" believe, would arise in the sphere of investment activity inasmuch as under capitalist conditions financial resources are in the hands of private owners. The Alternative Production work groups in the FRG organized

by the trade unions in centers where military production is located and struggling for their conversion are running into this problem. All their attempts to intervene in investment policy are automatically converted from economic to political and run into stubborn resistance since they affect the power of the employers and their right of decision-making. "The employers," K. Mehrens, a participant in the meeting and employee of the economics department under the main board of the FRG Metalworkers Union, writes, "consider decision-making in the sphere of investments and the production product list their prerogative and do not consider it necessary to bring in the workers here" (23). A technical director of the British Lucas Aerospace firm was perfectly candid on this point: "I personally am quite happy inasmuch as what is decisive is not the technical feasibility of a project but the question of who controls the firm" (24).

The realization of conversion projects must undoubtedly proceed thanks to a change in the structure of production, Mehrens continues. However, two questions go unanswered here: whence the resources and who will finance the conversion. Workers under the threat of a loss of their jobs are in principle reluctant to further burden themselves with financial risk, therefore it is necessary to recall the employers' responsibility for jobs. It is the latter who should finance a change in the production profile. Such financing is impossible without the intervention of the state authorities. Investment aid, financial guarantees or direct financing on the part of the government could be an effective tool here. S. Melman, the well-known American specialist in the field of military economics and conversion, develops Mehrens' idea. Conversion, he believes, should be planned at two levels: nationally and regionally in respect of capital investments; at enterprise level for the elaboration of detailed plans of alternative products and methods of their production. It is necessary on a state scale to effect merely overall coordination of the conversion plans, the main burden of work, on the other hand, resting with the authorities which will undertake the conversion locally--a broad decentralized basis is needed.

In addition, Melman writes, it should be considered that the conversion of military production is a lengthy business. A study of military industry enterprises and the activity of retraining and training programs in the public and private sectors and, finally, his own calculations led him to conclude that the painless implementation of a wide-ranging plan of the restructuring of U.S. military production would take 10-15 years (25).

A separate chapter of "The Report" is devoted to the experience and policy of the unions in the sphere of the diversification and conversion of military production. Particular attention is paid to Great Britain and an analysis of the experience of the Lucas Aerospace firm. Omitting the history of the elaboration of the plan of the conversion of production, we would note that it had been finally drawn up by the start of 1976. However, right up until 1979 nothing had been done in respect of this plan since the firm's board of directors kept referring to the need for coordination of the plan with higher management authorities.

Following the assumption of office by the Conservative Government, the management of Lucas Aerospace abruptly changed its policy, switching from

tacking and procrastination to the offensive. In the period 1979-1982 members of the union board, the secretary of the joint shop stewards committee and leading militants were dismissed. Approximately 2,000 persons had been dismissed by February 1982 just at the Burnley factory, where a plan for the production of a heat pump instead of military products had been elaborated (26).

Conversion plans had been drawn up for a number of enterprises of the Vickers firm also. An analysis was conducted at the Barrow Shipyards of the prospects of the production of civilian products which showed that the channeling into peaceful purposes of resources currently spent on the building of warships would permit the manufacture of 54 types of alternative products. At the factory in Newcastle the union drew up a list of names of peaceful products substituting for production of the Chieftain tank. They included automatic presses, coal-mining equipment, tractors, steam generators and heat pumps (27). However, these plans did not really come to anything.

There was a similar fate for the conversion plans advanced by working people of the North London Royal Ordnance factory--a branch of the state-owned Royal Ordnance Factories firm, which produces fuzes and explosives. When the Ministry of Defence announced the need for a cut in production, the factory's union activists requested assistance from the members of the Greater London Council and obtained financial resources for studying the possibilities of alternative production with the former structure and numbers of persons employed. Its results showed realistic possibilities of the production of two types of civilian commodities: consumer electronics and VCR's. Discussion of this plan is not yet at an end (information of 1984--author's note), but the dismissals have already begun (28).

The attempts at conversion at individual enterprise level led to the development of a debate concerning determination of the measures necessary for conversion at the national level. The opinion was expressed that conversion should assume the form of plan-oriented government policy. The Labor Party and the British TUC proposed the creation of additional institutional establishments which would undertake the restructuring of military production, specifically a national industrial commission for the restructuring of production which would study the possibilities of a reduction in military spending, draw up plans for conversion and adopt all the measures necessary for their realization. It was also suggested that alternative production councils be formed at all military industry enterprises whose task would be the elaboration of specific conversion plans (29).

Conversion programs and plans continue to be developed, despite the stepped-up antiworker policy of the Conservative government. V. Morgan's article, which was published in the West German union journal DER GEWERKSCHAFTER, examines a plan for the conversion of military production entitled "A Better Future for Military Industry Workers" which was elaborated by the British Transport and General Workers Union. It provides for the organization at the national and regional levels and also at the enterprises of conversion councils or offices, which would be made up of representatives of the interested parties. The councils' tasks would be to coordinate and accelerate the restructuring of production. Questions of conversion would be dealt with directly by civilian

production committees obligatorily set up at each enterprise, whose tasks would include: an analysis of available labor and material resources; alignment of the manpower's skills structure with the requirements of civilian production; prevention of workers' disqualification at the time of the restructuring of production; an analysis of the costs of production and expenditure on the marketing of the products, compilation of programs of R&D, financing, material-technical supply, acquisition of patents and licenses and so forth (32).

The plan of the Transport and General Workers Union observes that the civilian production committees should adopt measures for the timely notification via all accessible information sources and media of the progress of the work, including the employers' reluctance to cooperate with the committee. It is interesting to observe that the plan incorporates a proposal concerning the introduction of a new system, similar to that currently employed in Sweden, of the conclusion of contracts for the production of military products. The union's demand is such: the contracts should be concluded only with firms which have detailed conversion plans showing how in the event of cancellation of a military order production would be reorganized for the manufacture of civilian products. The restructuring of production should be financed thanks to the military expenditure thus saved and a conversion tax levied on all enterprises manufacturing military products. Morgan emphasizes particularly such an important element of the plan as the demand for the nationalization of the enterprises whose owners refuse to undertake the restructuring of military production (31).

In the FRG the plans for conversion are being developed the most actively by the Metalworkers Union. Alternative Production work groups have been set up at many enterprises of the metal-working sector. Such a group was created in 1980 at the Blohm and Voss company shipyards, where of the 6,000 workers, approximately 50 percent are employed in military production, and the military product constitutes more than 70 percent of the sales volume. An order for the production of a Chile-class submarine served as the reason for its creation. The union protested this order, pointing out that no new orders would be received in the immediate future, there would be a reduction in the number of jobs and the working people would lose work. The sole way out of the situation which union representatives saw was a conversion of military production, and such a conversion, furthermore, as would not lead to the disqualification of the workforce, a reduction in wages and cuts in the number of jobs.

The Alternative Production work group made a study of the firm's production potential and the competitiveness of the products and concluded that a restructuring of production for the manufacture of civilian products would not be loss-making either for the employers or the workers. Particular account was taken here of the fact that the list of the products produced by the firm had been diversified to a considerable extent: shipbuilding products account for only 20 percent of production, while steam generators, ship's engines, equipment for power stations and automated welding equipment for the automobile industry constitute 80 percent (32).

The Alternative Production work group paid particular attention to the development of Hamburg's energy supply. The purpose thereof was a simultaneous increase and reduction in the cost of the generation of electric and thermal energy and reduced losses thereof. It was proposed for this purpose developing in parallel both centralized and decentralized city power systems. Coal-fired power stations supplemented by a system of mid-sized and small thermal electric power plants are to be the basis thereof. Hamburg currently has only a centralized heat distribution system serviced by a thermal electric power plant situated at a great distance from many parts of the city. The work group proposes a solution whose essence is the creation of district and neighborhood small thermal electric power plants, which should subsequently be united in a single city system.

The authors of the project also point to the fact that its realization would permit the creation of new jobs, while costs would be compensated by the better use of energy and its reduced costs for consumers. The Blohm and Voss firm is in a position here to produce a large part of the requisite equipment: turbines and boilers, heat exchangers and vibration and sound mufflers.

The project, B. Schutt, a member of the work group, recounts, was submitted to the firm's management and was approved by the latter with the proviso that its implementation could begin only in the event of an order for production of the equipment being received from Hamburg's Power Supply Administration inasmuch as a restructuring of production given a simultaneous increase in the manufacture of unitized plants and a transition from the production of large boilers to small ones would be required for this. They are continuing to struggle for its realization (33).

"The Report" informs us that in the FRG Alternative Production work groups are also operating actively at plants of the Krupp MAK firm (34).

Collating the working people's demands in the sphere of the diversification and conversion of military production, C. Wellmann writes in the article "The Arms Race and Jobs" that the FRG's unions consider as essential measures in the solution of the problem of an increase in employment the following: at the national level, redistribution of federal budget revenue in favor of the civilian sector; at enterprise level, the immediate diversification of military production for the purpose of the firms' reduced dependence on military spending; at all levels, the timely implementation of measures in respect of implementation of investments in civil production and the conversion of the military capacity which has been created (35).

In France the experience accumulated by firms of the diversification and restructuring of military production for the manufacture of civilian products is very negligible. The trade unions have been relatively passive in this respect and are in practice not drawing up conversion plans. In the state sector of military production examples of conversion are lacking altogether. This is partly explained by the state monopoly of arms production and the lack of competition in this sphere. At the same time, however, instances of diversification following the transfer of state-owned military enterprises to private ownership are relatively frequent. The state undertakes here to purchase the military products produced by the enterprise.

A factory producing tank engines in Limoges, which in 1960 was transferred by the state to the Renault firm, may serve as an example. This led to a growth of employment and an extension of the product list. Tank engines still constitute the bulk of the products, however. The (Arm de Shatelyero) factory was transferred to private ownership in 1968. The enterprise was divided between several firms. The biggest of them was SFENA (production of space navigation instruments), which began the manufacture at the factory of both military and civilian products. The same fate befell in 1975 the Atelier de (Vernon) firm, which conducts fundamental R&D in the sphere of space rocket engines (36).

Two further typical examples may be cited. In 1970 the (Gerini) factory (anchor chains and anchors for ships) was transferred to the Swedish Alfa Laval firm, which produces equipment for food industry. The second example is a factory producing explosives in (Ripo). Following a number of administrative reorganizations in the Defense Ministry, it became a private firm. This afforded it an opportunity to expand the production list. The firm gained great freedom of action both in the sphere of production and marketing. However, explosives acquired by the state still constitute the bulk of production (37).

The opposite trend is observed in the private sector of France's military production--the restructuring of civilian for military production. This is explained by the stability and higher level of profits in the military compared with the civilian sectors. Although the French unions regard diversification and conversion as long-term goals, for this reason accomplishing them at the present time, under the conditions of economic depression and the crisis of employment, is, they believe, impossible. Under the present conditions they are supporting the state's policy of an increase in military spending and arms production (38).

In Italy, "The Report" says, the activity of the Metalworkers Union aimed at the achievement of two goals: the more extensive participation of the country's aviation industry enterprises in the European consortium for passenger aircraft production (the Airbus, for example) and the diversification of military production--the manufacture of medical aviation equipment, trucks and helicopters--merits attention.

At four major firms--Aer-Macchi, (Oto-Melar), Agusta and Selenia--the union has put forward the demand for the organization together with military production of the manufacture of civilian products. The start was inspiring: the working people managed to compel the employers to sign contracts in accordance with which they undertook to begin diversification. However, these obligations remain on paper merely as yet. Only the Agusta firm has begun the production of helicopter ambulances (39).

The impact of the international economic crisis and the Italian Government's decision on a threefold growth in spending for military purposes in the period 1981-1983 have practically reduced to nothing the possibilities of a conversion of military production. Despite this, the country's working class is continuing the struggle against the policy of militarization, counterposing

to it peace initiatives--wide-ranging plans for a restructuring of military industry for the production of civilian products. The material of the Italian Metalworkers Union Fifth National Conference, which was held in 1981, noted the need for the following measures.

Study of the prospects of employment in the sectors of civilian production in which the use of workers released from military production is possible, considering here the need to accord them jobs which are equivalent in terms of qualifications data.

An increase in the interest of workers of civilian and military sectors of industry in diversification; the purpose of such actions primarily should be the creation of confidence in workers of the military sector that they are not alone in their aspirations.

The elaboration of every conceivable measure pertaining to economic planning and regulation--scientific and market studies which could facilitate conversion and help avoid job losses.

A broadening of control on the part of the workers and unions of the activity of the employers, which would create conditions conducive to conversion, specifically thanks to access to information on all measures being planned and implemented.

The elaboration of a code of activity of multinational firms and its timely renewal. All this is necessary because the TNC either participate directly in military production or take advantage of financial participation and the sale of patents and are also suppliers of the arms producers (40).

The material of the survey permits several important conclusions concerning the current state of affairs and recent trends in the sphere of the conversion movement--the economic platform of international disarmament. First, there have been practically no changes both in an extension of the theoretical development of the problems of conversion and in practical realization of the plans thereof. There are substantial objective factors explaining this proposition: the new round of the cold war which began at the end of the 1970's, the lack of progress in international disarmament and the structural crisis, which rendered many undertakings futile. How could they be otherwise in programs of an additional expansion of capacity of this sector or the other thanks to a reduction in military production if the capacity of the existing civilian sectors is sometimes used at considerably less than full load? Obviously, without a military-political solution of this question progress in the economic sphere is impossible also. However, we should note as an important positive aspect the aspiration of working people of the West to preserve their militancy and defend their positions in the conversion sphere.

Second, the slogan of struggle for the conversion of military production has in recent years been transformed somewhat, having become the slogan of struggle for diversification and conversion. Under the current economic conditions, which are difficult for the working class and where some of its national detachments are having to struggle bitterly for the gains which they have won (and, as practice shows, in a whole number of cases to yield their

positions on cardinal issues), this change is objectively justified. Diversification permits the conversion of purely military firms into mixed-type enterprises, thereby facilitating in the future the struggle for complete conversion, and affords the working people material and experience for the elaboration and implementation of plans for the production of alternative products and so forth. However, as the publications examined in the survey, primarily the material of "The Report," show, introduction to the slogan of struggle for conversion of an intermediate point--the demand for diversification--could entail a dangerous trend--the conversion of conversion into a formality. In the current serious international and domestic economic situation demanding the speediest conversion is pointless and dangerous. The workers do not want additional complications now, when many sectors are experiencing a structural crisis, when the "microelectronic revolution" is pushing increasingly new masses of working people out of the gates of plants and the doors of establishments and when in general the problem of unemployment and the decline in the authority of the union movement is so serious on the one hand and "clear prospects" of an increase in the number of jobs thanks to expansion of military production can be seen on the other. Under these conditions only diversification is realistic, and the working people's tasks are to extend its framework as widely as possible.

It should not be forgotten that conversion was conceived not by the workers but by capitalists and that until it was adopted by the working class and became the economic platform of disarmament, conversion was only a form of private, state and, finally, state-monopoly regulation of the economy. In a whole number of countries the unions are beginning to identify firms' adaptation to changes in the conditions of the market with the struggle of the world's progressive forces for liquidation of the military sector of the capitalist economy. Meanwhile the experience of private firms shows that reverse conversion is being carried out no less often--the restructuring of civilian for military production. In sum, the fluctuations to one side and the other are not producing a zero effect, and the militarist priorities of the ruling class of the developed capitalist countries are giving rise to a constant growth in the military sector of their economy. There is diversification and diversification.

#### FOOTNOTES

\* Two concepts are encountered in modern literature--"conversion" and "reconversion". The term "conversion" is used in cases where it is a question of a restructuring of enterprises or sectors of military industry for their production of civilian products. The term "reconversion" is usually employed to denote a process of conversion of enterprises and sectors which had been adapted in wartime for arms production to the production of peaceful products. The term "diversification" denotes an increase in the proportion of civilian goods in the total product manufactured by firms.

1. "The Struggle for the Relaxation of International Tension and Socioeconomic Problems of Capitalism," Moscow, 1984, p 26.
2. Henceforward "The Report".

3. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien auf Friedensproduktionen. Eine Uebersicht der Moeglichkeiten und Erfahrungen in Westeuropa" (Hrsg. Koepke G, Brussels: EGI, 1984, p 19).
4. Ibid., p 21; V.W. Morgan, "Ein ueberlegter Plan," DER GEWERKSCHAFTER No 1, 1984, p 32.
5. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 21.
6. Ibidem; K. Mehrens, "Umstellung von Ruestungsproduktion auf zivil Bedarsgueter. Betriebliche und ueberbetriebliche, Strategien fuer die Umstellung" in "Arbeitsplaetze durch Ruestung?" (Hrsg. DGB-Landesbezirk Hessen, Abteilung Vorsitzender, Frankfurt am Main, 1985, p 23).
7. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 22.
8. Ibidem.
9. Ibidem.
10. "Die Rolle der Ruestung in der Wirtschaft des heutigen Kapitalismus," IPW--Forschungshefte (Intst. fuer intern. Politik und Wirtschaft, Bonn, 1984, No 4, p 112).
11. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 24.
12. Ibidem.
13. M. Brzoska, "Ruestung und Arbeitsplaetze" in "Arbeitsplaetze durch Ruestung?" p 10.
14. K. Mehrens, Op. cit., p 23.
15. Henceforward "Worker meeting".
16. V.W. Morgan, Op. cit., p 32.
17. "Abruestung und Umstellung der "Ruestungsindustrien...," p 26.
18. Ibid., pp 29-30.
19. H. Wulf, "Ruestungsgaben und Sozialabbau" in "Arbeitsplaetze durch Ruestung?" p 16.
20. Ibid., p 58.
21. Ibid., p 59.
22. Ibid., p 62.
23. K. Mehrens, "Alternative Produktion--warum und wie?" DER

GEWERKSCHAFTER No 1, 1984, p 16.

24. E. Hildebrandt, H. Spitzley, "Unsichten auf nutzliche Produkte," DIE MITBESTIMMUNG No 12, 1982, p 435.
25. S. Melman, "Problems of Conversion to Civilian Economy. An Agenda of Topics, Questions and Hypotheses," BULLETIN OF PEACE PROPOSALS No 12, 1985, Oslo, pp 12-15.
26. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 72.
27. Ibid., p 76.
28. Ibid., pp 76-77.
29. Ibid., p 77.
30. V.W. Morgan, Op. cit., p 33.
31. Ibidem.
32. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien," p 78; B. Schutt, "Alternative Fertigung: Die Suche nach sicheren Arbeitsplaetzen und sinnvoller Arbeit," DIE MITBESTIMMUNG No 12, 1982, p 443.
33. Ibid., pp 444-445.
34. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," p 80.
35. C. Wellmann, "Ruestung und Arbeitsplaetze," DIE MITBESTIMMUNG No 12, 1982, pp 441-442.
36. "Abruestung und Umstellung der Ruestungsindustrien...," pp 81-82.
37. Ibid., p 83.
38. Ibidem.
39. Ibid., pp 84-85.
40. Ibid., pp 85-86.

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## FORMATION OF NICARAGUAN MASS, VANGUARD ORGANIZATIONS DETAILED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 146-153

[Article by A.V. Kuzmishchev: "Formation of the Sandinist Front in Nicaragua"]

[Text] The Nicaraguan revolution is attracting attention today as part of the stream of the world revolutionary process of the 1970's which extensively encompassed the most diverse areas and countries of the developing world-- Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Iran, Chile, Grenada and El Salvador. Interpretation of the Nicaraguan experience demands that the researcher turn primarily to Lenin's ideas on the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle (1). Specifically, the ideological impact of the Cuban revolution and its influence on the victory of Sandinism demands special attention in this respect (2).

On the frontier of the 1980's the situation in Central America was characterized by two features common to all its five states (3): the former system of the domination of imperialism and the bourgeois-landowner oligarchy had entered a phase of "crisis of the upper strata"; social contradictions had intensified, which had brought about a marked stimulation of the protest of the "masses" against imperialism and the local military-tyrannical regimes. The signs of a revolutionary situation in each country had taken shape in their own ways and were of varying depth. They were manifested in fullest form in Nicaragua (4).

Under the conditions of the obvious maturation of national crisis the fate of the revolution in this country depended primarily on the maturity of the subjective factor, that is, the readiness of the masses for an open, including armed, encounter with the enemy for power and also the capacity of the political vanguard of the forces of the left to head them and lead them to victory. As a result a new vanguard organization--a military-political front--was formed in Nicaragua (as in El Salvador and, to a certain extent, in Guatemala and Honduras). It arose not artificially and not in a void but grew naturally from the gradual accumulation of practical experience of the revolutionary actions of the masses not only in Nicaragua but in Latin America as a whole, experience which was first embodied on Cuba. The armed victory of the people and the creation on Cuba of a government expressing the interests of the working people and the exploited masses and the unity of action of the

revolutionary democrats and communists were a striking and inspiring example for all who thirsted for immediate revolutionary action. The prerequisites had emerged at that time for an exaggeration of the role of the subjective factor in revolution, which engendered a mood of, if you will, surplus optimism. Many sincere, but politically inexperienced young revolutionary patriots, endeavoring to repeat the path of Fidel Castro and Che Guevara at all costs, had persuaded themselves that it all now depended on the resolve and heroism of the participants in "direct" revolutionary action themselves. Vulgarizing the views of Che Guevara, they began to put forward the idea that popular forces are always capable of victory over a regular army inasmuch as the military-political center (focus), leading the revolutionary struggle only in rural localities, itself creates all the necessary conditions for revolution. By the start of the 1960's this current of radical-left thought had acquired the name of "focalism" (5).

Such views found the fullest expression in the works of the French radical-left journalist Regis Debray, whose book "Revolution in Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America," which was written following several visits to Cuba and trips to various Latin American countries, became a kind of "focalist" catechism (6). The calls for a dissolution of the communist parties contained in this book did particularly great damage to the unity of the national liberation movement on the continent. It should, however, be acknowledged that some of the propositions advanced by R. Debray reflected actual particularities of the development of the revolutionary process in Latin America. Specifically, the importance and necessity even of the creation under certain conditions of a particular military-political organization, vanguard force of the revolution, was noted.

When the book "Revolution in Revolution?" appeared, in January 1967, the guerrilla movements which had been formed by the "focalists" in Latin America, having experienced a short-lived upsurge in 1963-1964, were already on the decline and shortly after ceased to exist. The tragedy of Che Guevara's Bolivian expedition (1966-1967) and the death of Guevara himself opened people's eyes to the real danger which arises from an exaggeration of the subjective factor of revolutionary action. An important step en route to surmounting this obstacle which had arisen in the way of the revolutionary movement was taken at the Havana meeting of communist parties of Latin America (1975), where the dialectical connection between the unity of the revolutionary forces and a broader alliance of all democratic forces was emphasized (7). The leadership of the Cuban Communist Party made a significant contribution to the success of this meeting.

The topicality of the subject which we have broached for today's revolutionary action was confirmed once again in the course of the theoretical scientific conferences held at the start of the 1980's in Havana, in which representatives of communist and workers parties and also revolutionary-democratic organizations and movements of Latin America participated. Granted all the diversity of the opinions, contentious at times, expressed at these conferences, their participants noted practically unanimously the urgent need for the elaboration of questions of the unity of the forces of the left and the regularities of the genesis of a revolutionary vanguard, in the form of a military-political front included. And, furthermore, the development of the

people's struggle in Nicaragua and the example of the FSLN--not as the sole possible model but as actual experience of the victory of revolutionaries--left a profound imprint on the entire course of the debate at these conferences (8).

Rodney Arismendi, the prominent Marxist scholar and revolutionary-internationalist, called the Sandinist people's revolution in Nicaragua the hope of Latin America and the start of a new dawn (9). Events in this small Central American country have acquired the significance of a symbol in which is concentrated the will of the peoples of the continent in the struggle for their rights against the local oligarchy and American imperialism. The vanguard of the working masses--the FSLN--was forged and tempered in the course of the nationwide struggle against the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. The front was named in honor of Nicaragua's popular hero, Gen Augusto Cesar Sandino (1895-1934), who in the period 1926-1934 had headed the struggle against the American interventionists and their accomplices. Thus the FSLN, which had been created in the period of revolutionary upsurge in Latin America on the eve and at the outset of the 1960's, also emerged as the spokesman for the national anti-Somoza tradition of liberation anti-imperialist struggle. The appearance of the front objectively reflected progressive trends in the development of revolutionary processes in Latin American countries, particularly the Cuban experience. However, the Sandinistas emphasize the distinctiveness of the historical roots and development paths of the Nicaraguan revolution. The FSLN leadership distinguishes the following stages of popular struggle, in the course of which the Somoza dictatorship was done away with.

1. The stage of historical cohesion of the revolutionary movement (1926-1934). The time of Sandino's heroic struggle.

2. The stage of revolutionary recession (1934-1956). The establishment of the dictatorship of the Somoza family, when a whole generation of revolutionary Sandinist fighters was physically exterminated, which disrupted continuity in the liberation movement.

3. The stage of revolutionary upsurge (since 1956). Its start was marked by the heroic action of the young patriot Rigoberto Lopez Perez, who, paying for this with his life, killed the dictator Anastasio Somoza. At this stage the new generations of Sandinistas joined in the struggle. They formed the FSLN, which became the vanguard of the revolution and led the people's masses to victory on 19 July 1979. It would be no exaggeration to say that the history of the creation of the FSLN as the vanguard of the revolution which rallied and led to ultimate victory a quite broad association of political groups, in which the union of forces of the left played the leading part, is in fact the history of the revolutionary upsurge.

The Sandinistas divide this third stage into several phases.

Following the initial period (1956-1960), of the preparation and strengthening of the bases of the unity of the revolutionary vanguard, came the period of the creation (as of 1961), development and strengthening of the ranks of the FSLN.

The growth of the front's influence in the country is subdivided thus:

1961-1967. Predominance of exclusively guerrilla methods of struggle (domination of "focalist" ideas and methods);

1968-1970. Ideological-political restructuring of the FSLN;

1971-1975. Open confrontation with the dictatorship;

1976-1977. Decline in the revolutionary struggle. Disagreements in the ranks of the FSLN;

1978-19 July 1979. New revolutionary upsurge. Cohesion of the ranks of the FSLN. People's victory (10).

Strictly speaking, the events of 1976-1979 may be put into two particular periods of the stage of revolutionary upsurge (even in a separate stage of civil war and its victorious conclusion, possibly). However, such a subdivision has yet to be encountered in the available literature, both Soviet and foreign (11).

The adduced periodization of the stage of revolutionary upsurge provides, if the content of each of its periods is revealed in more detail, an integral picture of the emergence of the vanguard of the revolution and the alliance of forces of the left in Nicaragua. Furthermore, the "focal" disease cost this country's revolutionaries dear. Twice--in 1963-1964 and 1966-1967--the Nicaraguan revolutionaries attempted to implement "focalist" principles. And both times they suffered cruel defeats.

The struggle against the guerrilla campaign divorced from the people is closely linked with the name of Carlos Fonseca, who was one of the first to "comprehend the experience and example of Sandino, combine them with revolutionary theory and scientific doctrine and signpost to the entire Nicaraguan people the way to victory" (12). On the basis of an analysis of Nicaraguan reality C. Fonseca concluded that under the conditions of the existence of a deeply rooted repressive dictatorship supported by the United States the possibilities of the peaceful path of revolution in the country had been exhausted by the start of the 1960's even. It was further concluded from this that the revolutionary process in Nicaragua could develop only along a path of prolonged armed struggle (13). Under these conditions there was an increasingly obvious need for the creation of a militant vanguard organization--a revolutionary military-political front (14) which, while performing certain functions entrusted to a proletarian party (formulation of the organization's policy line and its strategy and tactics and political-propaganda work in the masses), would also engage in purely military activity. C. Fonseca wrote: "Within the framework of our strategy the people's masses are without arms doomed to defeat, just as arms without the masses are doomed to defeat. The way to victory lies via a parallel strengthening of the struggle of the masses and armed struggle" (15).

The influence of the experience of the Cuban revolution, which was mentioned above, markedly accelerated the process which had begun in Nicaragua of the cohesion of the most resolute fighters against the dictatorship. Thus in 1959 the opponents of the Somoza regime formed the Nicaraguan Democratic Youth (NDY) organization. Two further anti-Somoza organizations calling for armed struggle--the Revolutionary Sandinist Front and the Nicaraguan Patriotic Youth--appeared in 1960. A year later the most resolute members of the NDY created (in fact recreated inasmuch as it had been conceived back in 1957) the "New Nicaragua" movement, which also advocated armed struggle against Somoza. The representatives of these organizations and certain others closely connected with them (Home Resistance Front--Nicaraguan Revolutionary Youth and others) and also some of the activists of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (NSP--the party of Nicaragua's communists)--mainly from its youth organization--met in July 1961 in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa. The participants in this meeting proclaimed the formation of the National Liberation Front. In 1963 the front acquired the honorary title "Sandinist" (16).

The diversity of organizations which constituted the basis of the FSLN was explained by the fact that they represented the most diverse strata of Nicaraguan society: workers and peasants, craftsmen, revolutionary intellectuals and the students and the petty and certain other groups of the bourgeoisie.

The extent of the Nicaraguan proletariat's participation in the revolution was for a long time explained by its position as a class "which had appeared in a backward capitalist country and which had been a casualty of the country's social, political and cultural backwardness and also the most diverse forms of reformism" (17).

The weakness of the Nicaraguan proletariat as a class predetermined, in particular, the low level of development of its political organization. This can be seen sufficiently clearly in the example of the activity of the oldest and for many years the sole political organization of the Nicaraguan workers--the NSP. Created in 1944, at the time of the general democratic upsurge connected with the Soviet Army's successes in the war against the fascist aggressors, the NSP subsequently fell under the influence of "Browderism". This predetermined in the 1940's-1950's the policy of the conclusion of agreements (so-called pactism) with the bourgeois opposition to Somozism, which, in turn, consented to constant compromise with the dictatorship. The communists found themselves pulled into the maneuvers of bourgeois politicians. On the threshold of the 1960's the NSP was able to overcome the "pactist" mood. But there was no unity within the party on the ways and forms of struggle against the Somoza regime. Thus the majority of activists of its youth organization aspired to vigorous revolutionary action--they opted for the path of armed struggle. It was for this reason that in 1960-1961 a large part of NSP members participated in the formation of the FSLN.

The NSP leadership viewed the Sandinist movement with distrust and accused it of encouraging factionalism in the party and leftist deviation. The "focalist" mood which predominated in the FSLN at that time confirmed that this criticism was not without foundation. However, the NSP failed to see the ideological-

political growth of the front as of the end of the 1960's. Its role in the anti-Somoza movement was belittled. The party believed that the defeats of the FSLN in 1963-1964 and 1966-1967 meant both the final failure of "focalism" in general and the Sandinistas in particular. In their statements the communists observed that in the Nicaragua of the 1960's there was no political force capable of successfully confronting the regime (18). The negative attitude of the NSP leadership toward the Sandinistas intensified sharply at the start of the 1970's, when Trotskyites attempted to split the party, calling for an immediate armed uprising and the establishment of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Many people uncritically identified this reckless policy with the FSLN's line of prolonged armed struggle against despotism (19). The workers themselves, however, and other groups of working people instinctively gravitated toward Sandinism, seeing it as a real revolutionary force. The workers actively supported the unions which the Sandinistas had created and which were independent of the government and joined the FSLN's armed detachments.

The Sandinist movement's strengthened ties to the proletariat influenced the change in the NSP's attitude toward the front. It was observed at the party Central Committee Fifth Plenum (December 1975) that the FSLN was the most important element determining the character of the revolution in the country. However, later the NSP confirmed a policy not of armed struggle against the dictatorship in alliance with the FSLN but of an intensification of the communists' activity in respect of a strengthening of the party's relations with the bourgeois--legal and semi-legal--opposition to Somocism. At the culminating stage of the revolution (the fall of 1978-19 June 1979) the communists concluded with the FSLN an agreement on joint action, recognized the Sandinistas as the vanguard of the revolution and merged their groups of fighters--"People's Armed Forces"--with the front's regular units (20). Some party activists were still unable to completely rid themselves of past prejudices, the other group of communists, on the other hand, resolutely supported the FSLN (21). It was emphasized at the First NSP National Conference (August 1979) that the tyranny had been conquered by "Sandinist rifles".

The experience of the class battles which developed in Nicaragua testifies that the vanguard forces of the revolution undergo a kind of adaptation process under the conditions of armed confrontation with reaction. A military-political organization (more often than not called a military-political front) of the vanguard is created. The foundations of its influence in the masses assuming the form of the broad unification (alliance) of various political and social--trade union, women's, youth and such--organizations are laid. And, furthermore, even certain strata of the national bourgeoisie pursuing their selfish egotistical goals may participate therein. The basis for such unification is a program of broad democratic--sometimes antifascist--and anti-imperialist demands. The vanguard and its mass base constitute the camp of the forces of revolution. The complex class "amalgam" of revolutionary forces predetermines the need for a solicitous attitude toward the unity which has been achieved. The presence in the camp of revolution, however, of certain detachments representing the exploiter classes even demands vigilance in respect of the attempts of these forces to establish their hegemony in the people's movement.

How, specifically, did these processes appear in the context of the Nicaraguan people's struggle against Somocism?

First, such a form of organization of the vanguard as the military-political front (MPF) crystallized out in the course of the buildup of the revolutionary process under the conditions of armed struggle. The MPF combines the attributes of a political party (or coalition of political parties) with the functions of a military organization (the armed forces). And the military functions of the front, considering the conditions of the armed struggle in which it appears, and the ultimate goal--the military victory of the revolution--play the predominant part in its activity, what is more.

The structure of the MPF depends on actual national singularities. The MPF is largely the result of collective creativity. Its relations with other political and social forces are of a complex nature, that is, some of them the MPF absorbs or creates from scratch, while with others it establishes allied relations. The role of the communist party here depends on the degree of its political maturity and the readiness of its leadership and personnel for decisive actions. Also possible is a situation where the communists are not in a position--as a political organization--to assume the responsible role of vanguard and be part of the forward detachment of the revolution. This was the case with the NSP and its leadership almost up to the start of the national crisis of 1978.

Second, accomplishment of the urgent task of the unification of all the most consistent fighters for the public cause is undoubtedly a most important step in the development of the revolution. F. Castro wrote that "...revolution is the art of unification of forces" (22). However, a revolution needs the support, buttress or, at least, the benevolent neutrality of the broad masses. Without this condition, the assault of the vanguard of the people's forces on power is in practice doomed to fail. "Winning with the vanguard alone is impossible," V.I. Lenin wrote (23).

Winning the masses over to one's side and uniting them is the priority task of revolutionaries. In countries which are economically backward and which have a fragile social structure such a task can only be tackled on the basis of a program minimum acceptable to the masses. Simple and intelligible in form, it must correspond to the needs and cherished aspirations of the majority of the population. Such programs serve as the basis for the creation of broad political alliances. Such alliances are not in themselves identical with revolutionary vanguards but form their mass base.

The foundation for the unity of the forces struggling in Nicaragua against Somocism was laid by the document "Historical Program of the FSLN," which had been compiled by C. Fonseca. This program incorporated demands for the creation of a revolutionary government, genuine agrarian reform in the interests of the oppressed peasantry and also a cultural revolution, the creation of labor legislation protecting the working people and social security, the honest work of the civil service authorities, development of the backward parts of the country, equal rights for women, respect for the citizens' religious feelings, a foreign policy independent of the United

States, struggle for the unity of the peoples of Central America, support for the struggle against imperialism throughout the world, replacement of the Somocist National Guard by a new people's army and respect for the memory of fallen popular heroes (24). The content of the "Historical Program of the FSLN" corresponded to the tasks of democratic and antidictatorial transformations, contributed to the active enlistment of the broad masses in the struggle and testified to the conscious ideological and political activity of the Sandinist vanguard of the revolution.

The dynamism of the FSLN was also manifested in the front's capacity for concluding tactical alliances, with circles of the right of the haute bourgeoisie included, whose positions in the country's economy were constantly being attacked by the Somocist dictatorial clan. The representatives of these circles formed in 1974 the Democratic Opposition Alliance (DOA). It also incorporated organizations which supported the Sandinistas and other political forces of the left (specifically, the NSP). As the bourgeois leaders intended, the DOA was designed not only to fight against the dictatorship. The DOA was also confronted with the task of disputing with the FSLN the initiative in the competition for possession of the masses. Politicians of the right attempted to implement these plans within the framework of the Broad Opposition Front (BOF), which united in 1978 practically opponents of the dictatorship, including the Sandinistas and the DOA. C. Fonseca had warned of such a danger when he wrote that the bourgeoisie would make every effort to avail itself of the successes of the people's struggle and that it was essential to counterpose to these maneuvers the unity of the masses and their political organizations (25).

Third, the Sandinistas firmly and consistently implemented this guideline of their leader, who had fallen in battle with the troops of the regime (November 1976). They formed the "United People" movement, which was shortly after converted into the National Patriotic Front (NPF), and broke with the BOF. The NPF became a genuine mass bloc of all revolutionary forces. A particular feature of the activity of the NPF was that all the organizations which formed it voluntarily recognized the leading role of the FSLN.

Thus the FSLN represented the interests of various social groups and classes--the bulk of the exploited strata of the population. The element uniting them at the stage of the struggle for power was the community of strategic goal--an end to Somocist oppression. However, the specifics of the class approach of the proletariat, peasantry, petty bourgeoisie and so forth to the accomplishment of the same tasks of the revolutionary struggle could not have failed to have left their imprint on the actions of the revolutionaries "delegated" by these classes to the vanguard forces of the popular movement. This is the objective factor explaining the possibility of the appearance of contradictions within the vanguard. There are also, of course, subjective factors also creating conditions for the emergence of such contradictions. In sum both these types of contradictions may engender renegades of the ex-Sandinista Eden Pastora type. This also has to be taken into consideration because the history of the contemporary revolutionary movement unfortunately has many examples of genuinely left forces exhausting themselves with internal struggle even in the face of an advancing enemy. As F. Castro wrote, "...the problem of sectarianism has existed, exists now and will continue to exist in

all revolutionary processes..." but "...as long as battle is being waged against you from outside... whatever your differences in views, the enemies must not perceive the split in your ranks" (26).

The Sandinistas had also to a certain extent to survive a crisis of internal development and a struggle of different currents. Thus the death of C. Fonseca was a big blow for the FSLN and for the entire revolutionary movement in Nicaragua. A number of prominent leaders of the front died in roughly the same period--at the end of 1976. Simultaneously the National Guard surrounded and destroyed several guerrilla bases in the mountainous areas of the north of the country. In practice the Sandinist groups in the cities were isolated from FSLN detachments in rural localities and different parts of Nicaragua. All this contributed to the development of centrifugal trends in the ranks of the front. As a result three currents took shape in the FSLN. Each current put forward its own plan against the dictatorship. The first of them, which came to be called "Prolonged People's War," represented the section of the Sandinistas which insisted on the need for a strengthening of the guerrilla bases in rural localities. These bases were to have prepared the foundation for the development of civil war against Somocism nationally. Another current--"Proletarian Line"--advanced as the main task of the Sandinist movement propaganda work for the purpose of winning over to the side of the cause of the revolution as many broad strata of the working masses as possible. One further current came to be called the "Third Strategy" (another name was "Insurgent Group"). The activists of this current put the main emphasis on the preparation of a nationwide uprising buttressed by an alliance of all anti-Somoza forces.

In the opinion of the Sandinistas, the appearance in the FSLN of three currents was not the result of ideological contradictions. The disagreements within the front concerned mainly questions of tactics. And, furthermore, the representatives of the Sandinist currents did not create independent organizations and individual executive bodies. Moreover, these currents complemented one another's actions, as it were. For example, activists of "Proletarian Line" and "Prolonged People's War" worked at plants and factories and in the poor neighborhoods and created cells of the Revolutionary Student Front. In turn, Sandinistas from the "Insurgent Group" organized guerrilla detachments and bases. In the winter of 1978-1979, at the time of the exacerbation of the revolutionary situation which had been ripening in the country since 1977, all three FSLN currents in fact united once again for an offensive against the common enemy, and in March 1979 this unification was structured organizationally (27).

"It is not enough to call oneself a 'vanguard' and forward detachment," V.I. Lenin wrote, "it is also necessary to act such that all remaining detachments see and are forced to recognize that we are in the lead" (28). Studying the stages of the development of the revolutionary movement and the singularities of the formation of its vanguard, Clodomiro Almeyda, a most authoritative leader of the Chilean antifascists, formulated thus this Leninist proposition with respect to Latin American reality: "The emergence of a genuine vanguard becomes possible as a result of historical development, in struggle; the vanguard is forged in battle and is created on the basis of successful practice, in the course of the growth of revolutionary processes" (29).

Under the conditions of the constant revolutionary action characteristic of Central America of recent decades the role of vanguard cannot be appropriated by the proletarian parties *a priori*. The less so in that, not being mass (with the exception of Costa Rica), they essentially cannot lay claim to the role of leading political force. In other words, a certain contradiction between the spontaneous aspiration of the masses to active forms of struggle and the relative weakness of the communist parties has taken shape. As a result the role of vanguard may at a certain stage also be performed by revolutionary military-political organizations speaking on behalf, as it were, of Marxist-Leninist parties and acting on their behalf (30).

But when it is a question of experience of the class struggle in the Central American subregion, it cannot be overlooked that the communists always have been and are now unfailing and active participants in revolutionary action and the formation of revolutionary vanguards in their countries. Under these conditions the vanguard emerges as a result of the merger of diverse political forces expressing the interests of the social strata of the exploited masses--workers of manufactory and handicrafts industry and the young industrial proletariat which has just sprung up, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie (tradesmen, solitary craftsmen and so forth). The Sandinist people's revolution created such a blend of revolutionary vanguard--the FSLN. This also explains the complex structure of the NPF. The FSLN within the NPF played the part of leader of the entire popular revolutionary bloc.

As a whole, however, the distinctiveness of the formulation of the question concerning the vanguard of the revolution in Nicaragua--and in Central America generally--stands out in greatest relief upon comparison of the experience of the development of the class struggle in Europe and the developing countries which gained independence recently. Here, as in Europe, communist parties exist. However, they are weak and are not mass, which is more characteristic of the communist parties of developing countries, where the proletariat is living through largely a period of its formation as a class, and the middle strata occupy revolutionary positions. These strata group around military-political fronts, which head the national liberation struggle in their countries. A clear example is the development of events in the former Portuguese African colonies: Angola, Mozambique and others.

As far as the forms and methods and also paths--peaceful or armed--of the revolution are concerned, these questions cannot be resolved once for all and identically for all countries. We would note that the Nicaraguan revolution helped us better understand that it was not the revolutionary guerrilla who suffered bankruptcy in Latin America in the 1960's but that about which R. Arismendi has given repeated reminders--primitive revolutionary efforts and "focal" guerrilla warfare. It should also be noted that upon an examination of the question of the vanguard of the revolutionary forces it is essential to suffuse with specific content such a capacious and frequently employed concept as "front". In other words, it is necessary to make clear on each occasion what we are dealing with: a military-political organization uniting one or several currents of vanguard forces of the revolution, which set a common strategic goal, or a broad alliance of the most diverse political movements, which are tackling jointly identical tactical tasks. Granted all the obvious

differences between these two types of fronts, a certain confusion sometimes arises, which is complicated by the fact that they are constantly interacting, disintegrating or reemerging or giving life to new fronts under new names (it is sufficient to recall the innumerable interminglings and participation of the FSLN and its representatives in the DOA, BOF, the "United People" bloc and the NPF). The correct definition of the type of front is a way of ascertaining who is acting the part of hegemon of the revolution and other fundamental questions of revolutionary action. It may be said that in this respect the Salvadoran and Guatemalan revolutionaries have found themselves in a more favorable position: they are armed with the inspiring experience of the Sandinistas.

Thus the development of the world liberation movement on the frontier of the 1980's showed once again the possibility of the existence of such a type of organization of revolutionary vanguard as the military-political front. The structure of such a type of revolutionary organization corresponds to the requirements and tasks which armed struggle puts on the agenda (supply of arms and ammunition; combat training; creation of armed detachments and the organization of their activity; leadership of combat operations and their tactical and strategic planning and so forth). No less important a task of the front is political-propaganda work, the organization of the masses (the union, women's and youth movement) and the creation of local power in the liberated areas--the embryo of future people's power. This corresponds to the tasks of lengthy armed struggle, as was the case in Nicaragua, but does not mean, naturally, that MPF are the sole possible form of existence of a revolutionary organization. Even less does this contradict and detract from the role of the communist parties, which is particularly obvious when it is a question of national singularities and the experience of the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and Guatemala.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. V.I. Lenin, "What Is To Be Done? Leftwing Communism, an Infantile Disorder" and elsewhere.
2. F. Castro, "The Strength of the Revolution Lies in Unity," Moscow, 1972; ibid., "Certain Aspects of the Cuban Revolution--Heroic Epic. From Moncada to Playa Hiron," Moscow, 1978 and elsewhere.
3. Traditionally implied by Central American countries are Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador.
4. See "Joint Declaration of Communist and Workers Parties of Central American Countries, Mexico and Panama," GRANMA, 29 October 1980.
5. "Focalism" is a term derived from the Spanish "foco"--"focus". Its supporters tried to prove that the development of the revolutionary movement, as they imagined it, was being impeded by the "old" communist parties. The "focalists" denied a priori the role of the communist parties in the national liberation movement and the experience they had accumulated.

According to the "focalists," the communist parties had lost their revolutionary character inasmuch as they were incapable of conducting an armed struggle, which, in accordance with "focal" dogma, was the sole possible path of revolution in Latin America.

6. See R. Debray, "America Latina: algunos problemas de estrategia revolucionaria," CASA DE LAS AMERICAS No 31, 1965; "Le castrisme: la longue marche de l'Amerique Latine," LES TEMPS MODERNES, June 1965; "Revolution in Revolution? Armed Struggle and Political Struggle in Latin America," MONTHLY REVIEW, July-August 1967.
7. "Latin America in the Struggle Against Imperialism, For National Independence, Democracy, Public Well-Being, Peace and Socialism," Moscow, 1975.
8. See "Estructura de clases en America Latina. Conferencia teorica internacional. Memorias," Havana, 1980; "America Latina: proletariado y sus aliados. Materiales de la conferencia de la Habana," Prague, 1981; "Conferencia teorica internacional. Caracteristicas generales y particulares de los procesos revolucionarios en America Latina y el Caribe. Memorias," Havana, 26-28 April 1982.
9. LATINSKAYA AMERIKA No 2, 1980, p 9.
10. See H. Saavedra Ortega, "50 anos de la lucha sandinista," Mexico City, 1979; "Augusto C. Sandino, Carlos Fonseca Amador. The FSLN. La estrategia de la victoria," Mexico City, 1980; "El principio del fin 1956... 23 anos de lucha... Nicaragua: Path of Struggle and Victories," Moscow, 1984. "El triunfo... 1979," Managua, 1981.
11. The exception is, perhaps, merely the viewpoint of R. Debray, who was the first to specially distinguish the period "between October 1977 and July 1979," see R. Debray, "Nicaragua anno cero," CASA DE LAS AMERICAS No 117, 1979, p 82.
12. "Habla la direccion de la vanguardia," Managua, 1981, p 179.
13. C. Fonseca, "Bajo la bandera del sandinismo (Textos politicos)," Managua, 1981, p 165.
14. Ibid., pp 187-192.
15. Ibid., p 147; "La revolucion atraves de nuestra Direccion Nacional," Managua, 1980, p 23.
16. See "Sandino's Ideological Legacy," Moscow, 1982, p 26 and also T. Borge, "Carlos, el amanecer ya no es una tentacion," Havana, 1980, p 31.
17. "Augusto C. Sandino...," p 127.
18. "International Meeting of Communist and Workers Parties. Documents and Material. Moscow, 5-17 June 1969," Moscow, 1969, p 230.

19. "Augusto C. Sandino...," p 347.
20. PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM No 1, 1980, pp 65-67.
21. "Augusto C. Sandino...," pp 342-343.
22. F. Castro, "The Strength of the Revolution Lies in Unity," p 175.
23. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 41, p 77.
24. "Sandino's Ideological Legacy," pp 241-251.
25. Ibid., pp 202-205.
26. F.Castro, "The Strength of the Revolution Lies in Unity," pp 32, 291.
27. B.I. Koval, "Latin America: Revolution and the Present Day," Moscow, 1981, p 148; ibid., "The Revolution Continues," Moscow, 1984, p 79; "Augusto C. Sandino...," pp 52-55.
28. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 6, pp 83-84.
29. NUEVA SOCIEDAD No 61, July-August 1982, p 18.
30. See B.I. Koval, "Latin America: Revolution and the Present Day," p 186.

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## EFFECTS OF S&T REVOLUTION ON CAPITALIST SYSTEM, WORKERS

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 168-174

[Article by V.K. Malov: "The S&T Revolution and the Working Class of Capitalist Countries"]

[Text] A most obvious and impressive consequence of the current stage of the S&T revolution is man's growing release from direct participation in the production of goods and services and the high rate of the latest technology's replacement of live labor. However, the reduction in man's direct participation in production is just one aspect of the complex processes occurring in the labor sphere under the influence of the S&T revolution. Another aspect is the expansion of indirect types of labor connected with the performance of monitoring-control and logic functions of an increasingly high level, responsible decision-making, service and the creation of increasingly complex equipment. The human factor of production is being expressed increasingly not so much in direct participation in the manufacture of the subjects of labor as in the creative processing of information for the purpose of the increased efficiency and intensification of production.

Speculating on the processes occurring in the working class of the zone of developed capitalism, a number of bourgeois scientists is propagandizing theories of "erosion" or "dissolution" in other strata, "abatement of the class struggle" and so forth. They cleave here, as a rule, to an incorrect, narrow interpretation of the boundaries of the working class, thereby underestimating its development potential under the conditions of the S&T revolution. However, the facts testify to the fundamental fallacy of the theories advanced by bourgeois ideologists.

K. Marx and F. Engels never identified the concept of the working class only with the factory-plant proletariat. It was obvious to them that, for example, a trade worker is just as much a worker as any other, despite all the differences which exist between them. Considerable attention is also paid in the works of the founders of scientific communism to the agricultural proletariat. The increased significance of circulation and services in the process of modern production and its increased subordination to capital are leading to an extension of the boundaries of the working class thanks to wage workers employed in these spheres. Whereas at the former stages of the

development of industrial production (large-scale industry, the assembly-line system) workers of physical labor predominated in the composition of the proletariat, in our time S&T progress and the comprehensive automation of production are leading to an appreciable enhancement of the role of workmen employed in skilled mental labor, including engineering-technical specialists servicing modern machinery. The S&T revolution has penetrated the sphere of office work, having accelerated appreciably the social differentiation of office workers. As a result many of them have in practice become a part of the working class. The rapid development of capitalism in the countryside has led in a number of industrially developed countries to the disappearance of the peasantry as a class and its division into bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie and agricultural proletariat.

Nor is it any accident that the numbers of the working class are growing in the zone of developed capitalism. By the start of the 1980's the working class here numbered approximately 241 million (compared with 80-85 million at the start of the century).

Thus the S&T revolution is leading not to the "erosion" of the working class but to the greater diversity of its production functions, the complication of its professional and social character and a rise in its general and professional culture. As K. Marx observed, "merely the cooperative nature of the labor process is inevitably extending the concept of productive labor and its exponent, the productive worker. There is no need now in order to work productively to employ one's hands directly; it is sufficient to be a tool of the aggregate worker and perform one of his subfunctions" (1).

The application in capitalist production of comprehensive automation is leading to a reduction in the overall level of employment of the working people and also to a slowing of the rate of increase in the number of persons working throughout the economy as a whole. The main "target" here is the category of semi-skilled manpower--the basis of line-assembly production--and also miners, metallurgists and construction workers. Workers being squeezed out of sectors experiencing an acute structural crisis cannot find a use for their capabilities in the new promising sectors in which workmen of preeminently mental labor predominate inasmuch as they lack, as a rule, the appropriate education and training. In other words, capital's conversion to intensive methods of management is being accompanied by a profound and comprehensive negative impact on employment. Some 32 million unemployed in the developed capitalist countries are a vivid example of this.

Comprehensive automation is also creating particularly favorable conditions for capitalism's increased exploitation of wage labor. Under capitalism new technology is being introduced not to reduce essential work time but to increase surplus work time. Therefore here, as K. Marx emphasized, "all means for the development of production are becoming means of subordination and exploitation of the producer..." (2).

An important place under the conditions of the S&T revolution is occupied by such a form of "efficiency promotion" as an increase in the intensity of labor, intricate, for the most part, what is more, which is attended by particularly serious and little-studied consequences. The changes in the

conditions of the work of draftsmen and designers may serve as a typical example. The introduction of automated facilities is on the one hand doing away in their labor with repetitious, uncreative operations and, on the other, causing nervous strain, stress conditions and dissatisfaction. In the United States, for example, the National Institute of Occupational Diseases conducted a survey in 1979-1980 of video terminal operators in offices of San Francisco, which revealed an exceptionally high stress level--higher even than for air traffic controllers. From 80 to 90 percent experienced excessive strain, and there was an increase in the state of anxiety, depression and fatigue.

It should be emphasized that a significant role in the process of capital accumulation under the conditions of the rapid retooling and structural changes in the economy is being performed by an expansion of the exploitation of the low-income labor of women and also the youth, foreign workers and the representatives of national minorities. At first sight there is a manifest contradiction: the S&T revolution is connected with the use of intricate, skilled labor, but these categories of working people do not have the proper qualifications. However, the point is that the use of their labor permits the corporations to effect the necessary maneuver: economize on the wages of the workers and simultaneously reimburse outlays on costly equipment. Differentiation of the wage within individual occupational-skills categories of working people is also a source of considerable profits.

Nonetheless, the center of gravity of "scientific" systems of deriving surplus value lies elsewhere: it is slowly, but surely shifting toward the broader use--in the interests of deriving profit--of personal incentives and stimulation of the workers to intensive and high-quality labor. The nervous-psychological and, mainly, intellectual resources of the individual and small groups and, via them, large-scale outfits (so-called "quality groups" in Japan, "autonomous teams" in Sweden and others) are becoming a means of enrichment of capital. True, the employers have encountered in this case a surprise result: granting the workforce an opportunity to exercise "control in the workplace" is leading to the growth of the perception of social inequality and forming an aware protest against the authoritarian nature of relations in industry (3).

Speaking of the technological changes in contemporary production, it should be emphasized particularly that it is a question not of the strictly conditioned dynamics of material productive forces but of a highly complex dialectical interconnection between material production and the human factor, more specifically, between the set of productive forces and social relations. Of course, new technology as such makes certain changing demands on production management and the organization of labor and the qualities of the aggregate workman. But how these demands are realized in practice depends on the social forces operating in the given industry and in society. Two extreme alternatives (the rest gravitate toward them) are objectively possible: either adaptation to the new technological conditions of the same invariable capitalist criteria and principles of management or struggle to substitute for the latter different principles, the exponent of which is the workers movement.

Monopoly groups and neoconservative political circles expressing their interests are endeavoring to implant a "model" of labor relations based on the S&T revolution in accordance with which automation and computerization are to ensure the even greater subordination of wage workers to the conditions of the automated production process and intensify specialization and differentiation between workers of different levels of skill. In other words, the corporations are endeavoring to achieve a situation wherein class relations in industry would be weakened, and it is these goals which are objectively served by the diverse concepts of "technological determinism" portraying contemporary technical progress as a sphere where people's unequivocal, unilinear dependence on technology is taking place.

The workers movement, on the other hand, proceeds from an understanding of technical progress as a certain "field" of possibilities. Technical progress contains various possibilities, including the alleviation and humanization of the conditions of labor, enrichment of its content and the cultural and intellectual development of the workers. However, in order to realize this "vector" of the S&T revolution under capitalism a persistent, persevering struggle of the working class recognizing and defending its interests in the sphere of production and society as a whole is needed. Otherwise, each phase of technical progress will afford new opportunities for the pressure of capital on the working class, the deepening of its division and the degradation of many groups thereof.

The bourgeoisie is attempting to shift the burden of the consequences engendered by the capitalist use of S&T progress and the capitalist socialization of production onto the working people, primarily the working class, and to dismantle their democratic gains. This is a kind of "social revanche" for past defeats.

Unfortunately, in the complex interweave of technical, economic and social problems which have arisen at the present abrupt historical turning point the state of affairs is shaping up not to the benefit of the working class. As observed at the 27th CPSU Congress, "as of the mid-1970's the increasingly frequent economic crises and the technological restructuring of production have changed the situation and enabled capital to switch to the counteroffensive and deprive the working people of a considerable proportion of their social gains" (4). However, this does not mean that the working class is incapable of erecting barriers in the way of the monopolies' usurpation of the fruit of S&T progress. On the contrary, it is expressing increasingly decisively its refusal to accept the changes in technology in the form and on the terms which monopoly capital is imposing on it. Protests against the negative social consequences of the S&T revolution and for its use in the interests of the working people are inevitably assuming an antimonopoly nature.

What demands are being moved to the fore in the course of the current confrontation of labor and capital, primarily the strike struggle? First, the demand of guaranteed employment and defense of the workers against the threat of disqualification. Second, a broadening of the working people's rights in respect of participation in production management and the demand that they be granted to a greater extent than hitherto a chance to influence the solution

of questions concerning their current situation and prospects at the capitalist enterprise. Third, struggle for a reduction in unemployment. In a number of capitalist countries, the FRG, for example, the confrontation of labor and capital is concentrated to a considerable extent around problems of a legislative reduction in work time without a cut in wages.

The comparative "moderation" of these demands by no means testifies to an easing of the main social contradiction of capitalism. On the contrary, it is becoming more profound, although it far from always assumes equal seriousness. The class struggle in the capitalist world is altogether not developing rectilinearly. It is characterized by periods of rise and fall and assumes varying dimensions in different countries and in different periods. To employ a visual image, the workers movement would appear before us as a line which often changes its direction, at times turning back, as it were, moving further away from its starting point, in short, represents a real broken line.

The crisis and the technological restructuring engendered a highly contradictory range of reactions in the working class. On the one hand, under the influence of the crisis and the growing uncertainty some workers succumbed (and are succumbing) to egotistic and corporate moods. The calls of conservatives for a "recovery" of the economy by way of according private capitalist enterprise "greater freedom" and a reduction in the burden of the state's social spending are finding a response in this environment. Conservative propaganda is instilling in these strata the fact that under the conditions of modernization of production social payments and the unions' demands threaten the stability of their economic position. On the other hand, in broad strata of workmen of the "old" and "new" sectors, those who by virtue of their occupational-skills unpreparedness for the technological changes are forced to work in specialized sectors, youth who cannot find work, the long-term unemployed, working people forced to consent to temporary work and so forth, there is a growing perception of social lack of protection and a mood of despair and apathy. It should be considered also that as a result of the growth of the numbers of the proletariat and the incorporation within it of new detachments the inner heterogeneousness of the working class has increased considerably and the strata thereof bordering on the bourgeoisie or the "new middle strata" which have not attended the school of class struggle have become numerically more significant. All this is naturally complicating under current conditions revelation of the revolutionary potential of the proletariat as a class as a whole opposed to capitalist society.

However, the struggle of the working class continues. It is significant that the number of participants in social conflicts in capitalist countries has continued to increase in recent decades as a whole. Thus whereas in a 5-year period (from 1975 through 1979) approximately 282 million persons took part in them in the zone of developed capitalism alone, in the following 5-year period (from 1980 through 1984) the figure was 335 million. A particularly significant increase in the number of political protests is observed here (5).

The instigators of many strike battles are the factory-plant detachments of the working class. The degree of organization of the workers in unions is higher here, as a rule, and the activity of the communist and workers party cells at the enterprises is more assertive. At the same time, however, the

number of strikers representing engineering-technical personnel, office workers and the industrial intelligentsia has increased. This has reflected the expansion of the social base of class confrontation. Workers of nationalized sectors and enterprises and various categories of office workers have begun to join more actively in the strike struggle in a number of countries.

The working people's rebuff of measures reflecting in concentrated manner the bourgeois state's offensive against the social rights and gains of the working class is accelerating the politicization of its struggle.

The crisis processes and the major economic and social changes connected with them are prompting union activists toward more long-term thinking and a search for solutions and plans which go beyond the framework of traditional "purely economic" trade unionism. The unions of a number of countries are putting forward a wide-ranging set of sociopolitical demands--a program of reforms in the spheres of production management, the system of education, employment policy and the use of labor resources. They are being forced into this by the critical situation in which the working class is being put by the economic revolution and technological and structural reorganization of the economy. At the same time, however, the intensified independent political role of the unions stimulated by the change in the correlation between economics and politics under the conditions of state-monopoly capitalism and its characteristic "politicization" of sociopolitical life is reflected in this phenomenon. The fact that the state has taken on itself a huge volume of socioeconomic regulation is prompting the unions not simply to make demands on state power and act via its "own" parties but also to increase its own, direct influence on the elements of the state in which the main decision-making centers are concentrated, that is, the executive and the system of consultations between government and business. They are having to formulate and defend their demands in respect of a considerably broader range of issues, substantiate these demands and link them with the general economic situation, frequently advancing here their own socioeconomic alternative (6).

The growth of the assertiveness of union members and the increase in the level of their demands are also manifested in their participation in the struggle for a reduction in military spending and the markedly increased rapprochement of the goals of the union members and the participants in the new social, specifically, peace movements. The ideological and psychological ties between the workers' organizations and democratic movements are increasing step by step. As a result increasingly great significance in the demarcation within reformist parties and the unions is attached to the attitude toward the problems being advanced by the new social movements.

An essential factor of the rapprochement of the worker and the new social movements is the peace struggle. Its goals are equally close to the working class and other strata. This is expressed, for example, in the interweaving of the struggle for peace and against the arms race with the struggle for employment in the advancement of the slogans "Jobs and Peace!" and "New Jobs

"Instead of New Bombs and Missiles!" In West European countries, New Zealand, Australia and Japan a large number of working people participates annually in mass protest actions against the arms race and for appropriations to be channeled not into the production of new means of destruction but into the expansion of social programs.

It would be wrong to believe that this participation in mass democratic protest actions is leading the majority of workers, the youth and the intelligentsia directly to positions of class struggle, even less to those of socialism. A number of currents in the contemporary peace movement are characterized by bourgeois views and anticommunist prejudices at times. But for communists and progressive workers true to Marxist-Leninist tradition the evaluation of the significance of a mass movement cannot be equated with a comparison of doctrines and ideologies. Immeasurably more important for them is the question: what in practice is the behavior of the strata of the population which agree with pacifism and neutralism or are close to their ideas. Even having determined the bourgeois nature of the views of the participants in the peace movement under current conditions, communists do not place the period here. They take into consideration the fact that the struggle against militarism and against the arms race develops from one stage to another, thanks to which old formulas are capable of being suffused with new content.

Protests against the military danger cannot, of course, remove class contradictions and the difference in political orientations. Communists are not about to renounce class struggle while it is historically inevitable. This is impossible. But the development of the struggle for peace does not contradict the logic of the working class' struggle for social progress--without this struggle progress could become impossible. In addition, many participants in the peace movement belong precisely to the strata which are for the first time rising to political life under the new conditions. Participation in the peace struggle is awakening them from political lethargy and, given certain circumstances, channeling their protest against the most brazen imperialist circles. In this case the peace movement is capable of extending the sphere of political alliances and turning a new page in the antimonopoly struggle of the people's masses.

#### FOOTNOTES

- From the editors: The CPSU Central Committee decree "Organization of the Working People's Political and Economic Education in the 1986/87 Academic Year" proposes subordinating all forms of tuition to study of the problem of the country's socioeconomic development. Proceeding from this, the editors consider it possible to recommend for study in the system of political and economic education and self-tuition a number of articles published in 1986:

A.G. Aganbegyan, "Economic Strategy of the 27th CPSU Congress: Social Aspects" (No 6); E.I. Bonn, F.P. Pankratova, S.A. Plisova, "Stabilization of the Workforce" (No 4); V.L. Glazychev, "Development of the Nonproduction Sphere: 'Plant--City' Program" (No 3); Ye.B. Gruzdeva, E.S. Chertikhina, "Occupational Employment of Women in the USSR and Their Pay" (No 3); A.A. Korobeynikov, "Pivotal Problem" (No 1); B.Z. Milner,

"Restructuring of the Management of the Economy: Problems and Prospects" (No 5); A.K. Nazimova, L.A. Gordon, "S&T Progress and the Industrial Assertiveness of the Working Class" (No 4); I.K. Pantin, "Program of Creation, Peace and Social Progress" (No 1); Ye.I. Romanovskiy, "Workers' Families in the USSR: Income and Well-Being" (No 6); Ye.M. Chekharin, "The CPSU's Social Policy at the Current Stage" (No 5); V.P. Chichkanov, "Baykal-Amur Main Railroad--Facets of Social Development" (No 1); O.N. Yanitskiy, "The Human Factor and Socio-Reproductive Processes" (No 4).

1. K. Marx and F. Engels, "Works," vol 23, p 517.
2. Ibid., p 660.
3. See S.A. Yershov, "The Proletariat Confronted by Comprehensive Automation: New Conditions of the Class Struggle," RK i SM No 6, 1984, p 108.
4. "Material of the 27th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1986, p 13.
5. See T.T. Timofeyev, "Leading Force of Social Progress," RK i SM No 2, 1986, p 26.
6. See "Present-Day Capitalism: Political Relations and Institutions of Power," Moscow, 1984, p 94.

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## BOOK ON USSR WORKING CLASS REVIEWED

Moscow RABOCHIY KLASS I SOVREMENNYY MIR in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 87 (signed to press 6 Jan 87) pp 180-182

[G.N. Cherkasov, G.A. Silantyeva review: "Development of the USSR Working Class: Problems and Prospects"]

[Text] The important shifts and changes of an objective nature making for the prospect of an acceleration of the Soviet society's socioeconomic development and its achievement of a new qualitative condition simultaneously also are to a certain extent shaped by the human factor and the social driving forces for the accomplishment of this historically urgent task formulated by the CPSU. Among such shifts and changes demanding serious scientific comprehension, changes in the actual position of the working class and its production and social potential under the impact of the general economic and social processes occurring at this stage undoubtedly pertain among the most important.

It is to this that the book in question,<sup>\*</sup> which largely sums up the studies on the corresponding range of problems which have been conducted in the first half of the 1980's in the USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD, is devoted. It analyzes the changes in the composition, numbers, general and professional culture and social assertiveness of Soviet workers which have occurred in the 1960's-1980's. On the basis of this analysis the authors endeavor to ascertain the prospects of the further development of the working class in the foreseeable future, having illustrated its place in the fundamental economic and social transformations of our time, primarily in the transition to an economy of higher organization and efficiency and in the formation of a classless structure.

As the CPSU Central Committee Program (New Version) emphasizes, "the political experience of the working class and its high consciousness, organization and will unite our society. The growth of the general educational, cultural and professional level and labor and sociopolitical assertiveness of the working class is enhancing its vanguard role in the perfection of socialism and communist building." What precisely makes for this role of the working class? The authors of the book in question show: on the one hand its objective interests and the fact that the further improvement of the life of the workers, the enhancement of the meaningfulness of labor and an upsurge of well-being are impossible without a fundamental acceleration of socioeconomic

progress. On the other, it is the working class which constitutes the basis of the human factor, whose stimulation is the main prerequisite of such a process.

However, the potential of the working class is not realized spontaneously but as the result of the economic, social and political measures consciously planned and implemented by the Communist Party. Importance is attached here to consideration of the fact that the very nature of the development of the working class is changing under current conditions. The quantitative growth of its ranks, so important in the past, is losing its former role. The absolute numbers of the Soviet working class will hardly change appreciably in the coming decade. Its qualitative development will move to the fore. In this sense the growth of the skills and cultural-technical level of the workers throughout the past 25 years constitutes a principal manifestation of the growth of the forces of the working class and its readiness to undertake an intensification of production and an acceleration of S&T progress.

At the same time the authors of the monograph, relying on a vast amount of statistical material and the data of the specific sociological studies which they conducted, show that the workers' increased educational potential is not always realized fully inasmuch as there continues to be a relatively high proportion of unskilled physical labor, performance of which does not require a high general education. The reduction in the proportion of unskilled labor in the 1970's was considerably slower than the growth of the workers' general educational level. Today more than one-half of the unskilled labor jobs are held by workers with higher than elementary education. Young people with 10 and 11 years of school training are having to work here increasingly often. For persons with such or an even higher level of education work in these occupations frequently proves to be a source of social discomfort, and for society results in economic and social losses.

The authors observe that together with the disproportion between the workers' general educational level and the content of their labor there is also a discrepancy of another type connected with the comprehensive mechanization, automation and robotization of production processes and the application of new progressive technology, which are making higher demands on the workers. The qualifications of the majority of workers fully corresponding to the demands of present-day production are proving not to fully correspond with production born in the course of the S&T revolution. A comparison conducted by the authors confirmed that there are differences between the standard demands on workers' skills and the actual level of their professional training. Thus, for example, according to the data of a survey in Taganrog, among workers employed in mechanized and line-assembly labor (according to the classification developed by the authors, this is labor predominantly of the developed industrial type) 86 percent are made up of those for whom professional training prior to the start of their labor activity is required, whereas only 42 percent actually have such training. Among the workers employed in automated labor and labor pertaining to the adjustment and repair of equipment

(labor predominantly of the scientific-industrial type) this proportion constitutes 92 and 47 percent respectively (p 142). The general professional training of the youth prior to the start of its labor activity and simultaneously a constant rise in the qualifications of workers employed in industry are becoming an imperative demand of the times.

Just as material are the dialectics of the development of social assertiveness. The growth of the social assertiveness of the working class is a principal achievement of socialism, with regard for which the CPSU is elaborating its strategy of the country's further economic and social progress. At the same time the realization of this strategy demands a rise in the social assertiveness of the working class to a new level. The authors show the danger of rectilinear and simplistic interpretations of the numerous data concerning the workers' participation in the management of production.

Thus despite the pronounced improvement in many average statistical indicators of the workers' social assertiveness, which is occurring in parallel with the progress of the technical-engineering organization of production, the general social feeling, the feeling of proprietor and the degree of satisfaction with one's actual influence on the course of production and social affairs are, according to the data obtained by the authors, roughly identical among all workers, regardless of the type of production in which they are employed. A detailed analysis testifies that the forms of enlistment of the workers in management which exist currently lead to the molding in them of a feeling of proprietorship and responsible, enterprising independence connected with this predominantly at the microlevel, so to speak, on the scale of the workplace, brigade and primary labor outfit generally. Thus 60-70 percent of workers surveyed feel themselves to be masters in their own jobs, but within the framework of the shop only 13 percent of workers of developed industrial labor and 24 percent of workers of scientific-industrial labor perceive their influence on the course of production, and within the framework of the entire enterprise even fewer: 7 and 16 percent respectively. At the current stage an important task is the creation of conditions converting workers into zealous and enterprising proprietors not only of their own workplace but of all of production as a whole. These conclusions are entirely in keeping with the CPSU's program principles of the development of the creative initiative of the working people and their increasingly full enlistment in the process of management of production.

The monograph rightly emphasizes that it is essential to make use of all available potential at enterprises and in organizations for the continued formation of worker self-management, primarily the opportunities which are afforded by group forms of the organization of labor. Inasmuch as there exists a heterogeneousness of socio-technological structures, which will retain its significance within the bounds of the next two decades, a differentiated approach to the continued development of the brigade organization of labor is essential. The type of brigade, the degree of independence in the organization of labor and production and the range of managerial functions delegated to the brigade leader and the brigade council must be closely tied in with the technical-engineering type of production. Consideration of the objective singularities of the situation of workers of different types of production is also important in realization of the rights which have been accorded the

working people by the Workforce Act and the enhancement of their role in the management of enterprises, establishments and organizations.

The monograph's final section "From the Social Structure of the Working Class to the Socio-Occupational Structure of Society" is of great interest in the theoretical and practical respects. The authors have made an extended multi-aspectual study of the trends and prospects of the working class' socioeconomic development under the influence of such factors as the development of the S&T revolution and the changes in the content of labor connected therewith, the intensification of the urbanization process, the rise in the educational and cultural level of the Soviet people, shifts in the direction of the surmounting of the class differences between workers and kolkhoz members, the rapprochement of the workers and the intelligentsia, the conversion of the industrial nucleus of the working class into the social nucleus of society and certain others.

The analysis of the trends which were ascertained enabled the authors to note certain objective regularities of the qualitative changes in the social structure of society and to interpret the data thus obtained in the form of a forecast of the development of the socio-occupational structure of society and the separation of individual elements thereof. The forecast of a classless structure of society proposed by the authors is not only of undoubted theoretical but also practical interest inasmuch as it may serve as an important reference point for the elaboration of plans of the social development of the republics, regions, cities and enterprises. I believe it would be expedient for the authors to continue work in this productive field for the purpose of bringing the theoretical concept of a classless structure of society which has been elaborated to the point of actual qualitative proportions between individual components of the socio-occupational structure of society at individual stages of its development.

Like any new and nonstandard work, the book by L.A. Gordon and A.K. Nazimova is of interest not only for its conclusions and results but also the questions which arise in the course of reading it. Far from all the propositions advanced by the authors appear convincing. Moreover, many of them are a direct invitation to debate. The debate is all the more appropriate in that in some cases the authors stop half-way, as it were, toward the final formulations, as if fearing to go the whole way in their own procedural premises. For example, the book speaks convincingly of the need for a multidimensional analysis of the social structure of contemporary Soviet society. Indeed, as long as it is a question of the socio-occupational aspects, the authors adhere to such an approach. But switching to an examination of the prospects of the formation of a classless social structure of society as a whole, they return once again to a simplistic unidimensional interpretation. L.A. Gordon and A.K. Nazimova rightly note the importance of the divisions ensuing from the nature of labor and the participation in management, but lose sight here of such a colossally important division as "city-countryside".

In general, the authors have failed to overcome an oversimplified approach completely, and its aftertaste is perceived throughout the book. We say this not to erase the significance of the outlines proposed in the book. On the contrary, we repeat once again that they constitute a sufficiently reliable

tool of analysis. At the same time a certain inconsistency of the book is that the outlines are far from always verified by application to actual factual material. Yet it is clear that only such application makes a theoretical outline viable and permits its verification by practice and, correspondingly, its specification, enrichment with details and so forth. Only in the process of practical use do theoretical propositions cease to be an outline, and a hypothesis become a theory. This has not been done as yet, and the authors' outlines oversimplify reality at times. Of course, the authors make the reservation that the occupational structure which they have adduced permits coarse generalities whereby, for example, all troubleshooters and repairmen fall into the same category, regardless of the type of labor with which they are actually connected (p 121). Reservations, however, do not make things right, and the outline in one way or another remains not entirely applicable to a very important (particularly from the viewpoint of development prospects) category of workmen. In this sense the authors' hypotheses only partially acquire the status of theory.

In conclusion we would touch on one further question. A big merit of the book of L.A. Gordon and A.K. Nazimova is the fact that the authors proceed in their conclusions from a great deal of factual material, successfully combining the data of sociological studies with the mass, albeit less detailed, material of official statistics. The sociological data were obtained mainly in the course of two (with a 10-year interval) surveys conducted in the typical industrial center of Taganrog. The unity of the construction of these surveys and the comparatively long interval between them enable us to speak with confidence about changes in the conditions of the labor and social life of the Taganrog workers as stable changes, and comparison with the data of official statistics (primarily all-union population censuses) affords an opportunity for determining which of these changes are of a generally significant nature. In general, the skillful combination of the material of the sociological surveys and the data of official statistics constitutes a most important merit of the work. I would like to hope that this fruitful area of research will continue to be developed. Specifically, it would be highly desirable in the next few years to conduct a third survey in the city of Taganrog in order to collect data which together with the material of the latest census would permit a judgment concerning changes in a 20-year period.

Incidentally, an attentive reading of the book leads to certain more general conclusions concerning problems of the further refinement of socialist statistics. Taking a close look at the data of official statistics on the social development of the working class carefully assembled and put together by the authors, it can be clearly seen that Central Statistical Administration publications have in recent decades (publication of the material of the 1979 census, for example) been much leaner than previously. There is no doubt that well arranged and generally accessible statistics constitute an essential element of the true openness of social life, as also an important prerequisite of the real scientific substantiation of socioeconomic policy. An improvement in social statistics will largely depend on the energy and persistence with which the latest achievements of social science are applied in practice. This is a most important area of the intensification and increased returns from Soviet social science.

Returning once more to the book as a whole, we would note that its authors do not overlook contentious, debatable aspects of the problem in question and, at times, negative aspects of the processes being studied. On the contrary, they attempt to reveal the main objective and subjective factors determining their appearance. The book helps us understand the complex and relevant theoretical and practical problems connected with the prospects of the development of the social structure of Soviet society under the conditions of the continued development of the S&T revolution and the transition to the path of an acceleration of socioeconomic development.

FOOTNOTE

- \* L.A. Gordon, A.K. Nazimova, "Rabochiy klass SSSR: tendentsii i perspektivy sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo razvitiya" [The USSR Working Class: Trends and Prospects of Socioeconomic Development], Moscow, "Nauka", 1985, pp 221.

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29 July 1987